THE NATION

April 27, 1963 . . 25c

SPRING BOOKS

LETTERS & POLITICS

The Fear of Passion — J. H. Grainger

Fences Against Power — Stephen W. Rousseas

The Traps of Identity — Edward Dean

Theatre of Politics: the Negro — Lionel Abel

Poets Without Prophecy — Hayden Carruth

REVIEWS • POETRY

The Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY
Johnson City, Tennessee

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS

Undeserving

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Dear Sirs: The Pittsburgh Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy has sent the attached letter to Chancellor Edward H. Litchfield of the University of Pittsburgh:

"The membership of the Pittsburgh Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy believes that the awarding of an honorary degree to Dr. Edward Teller, announced by the University of Pittsburgh at a moment when the issue of nuclear disarmament hangs in the balance, is apt to create the impression that this honor represents an endorsement of Dr. Teller's position with respect to nuclear policy. . . .

"Dr. Edward Teller has devoted a major portion of his activity in the past years to opposing in every way possible measures designed to halt the acceleration of the nuclear-arms race and to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons. In particular, Edward Teller has used dubious methods in his campaign to prevent a nuclear-test-ban treaty. For example, in January, 1961, Edward Teller stated that underground tests could be 'used to yield practically all the information for weapons development which is needed.' Yet, by the end of 1961, Dr. Teller was urging the resumption of American atmospheric tests as absolutely necessary. . . .

"In an age of increasing need for social responsibility of scientists, we would hope that a great university would find it possible to honor those scientists who devote their skill and prestige to the preservation of humanistic values, rather than those whose policy may lead to . . . catastrophe."

Rev. Edward A. Cahill, Chairman

No substitute

New York City

Dear Sirs: I am astonished that *The Nation,* which has consistently opposed the death penalty, could be so uninformed as to support for New York the so-called two-trial system as a substitute for the mandatory death penalty. Your editorial entitled "Someone Had a Good Idea" [April 13] praises the New York legislature for adopting this procedure. You contrast this with the unsuccessful efforts of Governor Brown to abolish the death penalty in California. It might interest you to know that Governor Brown is attempting to abolish in California the very system which you urge New York to adopt because, far from eliminating the death penalty, it has resulted in an increased number of first-degree murder convictions and an increased number of executions.

The majority of executions in New York result from convictions for felony-murder where the jury already may recommend life imprisonment. Under present law, if the jury fails to agree unanimously, there can be no verdict. Even in the case of common-law premeditated murder, where the death penalty is mandatory, the jury may, if it wishes, return a verdict of guilty for second-degree murder. These decisions today are frequently made without knowledge of prior convictions of the defendant or other derogatory information about his background. Why does *The Nation* think that juries will reach a different decision under the two-trial system, particularly since the second trial is a forum for the presentation of a great deal of information about the defendant excluded by the present rules?

The Nation confidently concludes that there will be "few juries on which one member will not hold out against capital punishment." If this were true, we would not have so many convictions today for felony-murder with no jury recommendation of mercy, for the same one juror could prevent such a result. The fact is that jurors are chosen in death-penalty cases in such a way as to almost guarantee that they will have few qualms about capital punishment. . . .

No, capital punishment will not be eliminated by such devices as the two-trial system, as we know from the experience of those states which have adopted it. It will be eliminated by the determined efforts of those who know that the death penalty is a monstrous evil which has no place in a humane and rational society.

Norman Redlich
Counsel, N.Y. Committee
to Abolish Capital Punishment

Jung's letters wanted

New York City

Dear Sirs: I have been entrusted by the heirs of the late Dr. C. G. Jung with the editing of his correspondence, and I should be most appreciative if anyone possessing letters would communicate them to me at the above address; either originals (which will be returned immediately upon being copied), or photocopies (any expense incurred in making copies will be refunded). It is not intended to publish material of a strictly personal nature, and correspondents may indicate whether any part of the letters should for the present be withheld from publication.

Please address me at the Bollingen Foundation, 140 E. 62nd Street, New York 21, N.Y. *Gerhard Adler*

THE NATION
Saturday, April 27, 1963
Volume 196, No. 17

In this issue

EDITORIALS
337

SPRING BOOKS
339 The Fear of Passion
J. H. Grainger
340 The Disclosure (poem)
Denise Levertov
343 Fences Against Power
Stephen W. Rousseas
346 Landscape with Figures (poem)
Howard Nemerov
348 On the Road (poem)
John Haines
349 The Traps of Identity
Edward S. Dean, M.D.
351 Theatre of Politics: the Negro
Lionel Abel
352 Natural History (poem)
Daniel Hoffman
354 Poets Without Prophecy
Hayden Carruth
357 Law and Justice
Hugo Bedau
358 Walking Around (poem)
Mark Strand
360 Lunch Hour (poem)
Galway Kinnell
361 The Cold Crusade
Alan Rosenthal
363 Cruise (poem)
George Kauffman
Crossword Puzzle (opp. 364)
Frank W. Lewis

George G. Kirstein, Publisher
Carey McWilliams, Editor
Victor H. Bernstein, Managing Editor
Robert Hatch, Books and the Arts
Marion Hess, Assistant to the Editors
Harold Clurman, Theatre
Hilton Kramer, Art
Benjamin Boretz, Music
Carl Dreher, Science
A. R. Ammons, Poetry
Jane Stolle, United Nations
Alexander Werth, Europe
Mary Simon, Advertising Manager

The Nation, Apr. 27, 1963. Vol. 196, No. 17

The Nation published weekly (except in July and August, when biweekly) by The Nation Company and copyright 1963 in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N.Y. Second class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Tel.: CH 2-8400.
Subscription Price Domestic — One year $10, Two years $18. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

'The Problem Remains'

In the issue of April 28, 1962, *The Nation* editorialized on the President's victory in the steel-price controversy under the above title. The recent action of the steel companies in raising their prices "selectively," and the President's acquiescence, show that the problem is with us still. It remains true, as our 1962 editorial said, that "for the long run, nothing has been settled, and nothing will be settled until the laws catch up with a technology and industry never envisioned by the writers of the Constitution and its amendments." Nor was the run long—one year to the day.

Steel is an administered-price industry. This in itself is not a menace to the economy, still less is it unique: most basic industries in the citadel of free enterprise administer prices by one device or another. The trouble is that such prices are invested with a public interest, and the steel tycoons have no way of cranking the public interest into their computations, even if they regard it as a responsibility of theirs. The circuitous way in which they went about the present price increase shows that they are sensitive to governmental and public reaction. Wheeling Steel, one of the smallest of the larger companies, first ventured into the open, like a scout in an infantry advance; the others cautiously followed when nothing happened. The enemy — President Kennedy — who had so cruelly mauled Roger Blough the last time, was in no position to repeat the performance. He had not kept his powder dry. If the Justice Department had sued to break up U.S. Steel; if Senator Kefauver had been able to get his committee to investigate costs and subpoena the officials of the steel companies; if, among other cost data, the salaries, stock options and expense accounts of the officials had been probed; if the economics of the industry had been laid bare — but none of these things were done. Nor did President Kennedy use his influence to try to get them done. Instead, he set out to erase the image of himself as an enemy of business — as if any President since McKinley has been regarded by Big Business as sufficiently friendly and compliant.

The "selective" feature of the price hikes is the phoniest part of the whole affair. Its only merit is that it gave the President an escape hatch. It is impossible for the companies to raise prices "across the board" because on many items they would merely be turning over the market to foreigners — they make steel, too. The selectivity was in raising prices only on those items where the American consumer would have to pay what the traffic would bear.

What next? For the present, the public will be financing further modernization (and cost cutting) of steel plants by paying more for the items most in demand. If inflation results, that will be the public's hard luck — and the President's. During his next term the same operation may be repeated — will be, if nothing is done to avert it. The President can take at least one of the steps he should have taken during his year of tranquillity. There are some capable and public-spirited economists in the field of steel who could be appointed to a commission to maintain a running appraisal of the price of steel. Or, if subpoena powers are necessary, Senator Kefauver's committee is still in existence. If Roger Blough learned a lesson in 1962, perhaps the President has learned one in 1963.

Multi-Multi-Multi

There is an air of desperate contrivance about the Administration's maneuvers in NATO. It seems to be trying to give the NATO allies the appearance of possessing atomic weapons, without the reality. One gimmick is the "multi*national*" force which, for a beginning, would consist of American Polaris submarines, British bombers and miscellaneous aircraft contributed by other NATO members, including the two French fighter squadrons presently stationed in West Germany. Later we would sell the British some nuclear submarines, or the British would build their own; these would be equipped with British nuclear warheads attached to Polaris rockets. Under the multinational plan, each contributing nation could withdraw its contribution whenever it felt withdrawal was in its national interest.

The "multi*lateral*" force is even more of an abortion. At first this was to consist of nuclear submarines furnished by the United States and manned by Americans, Germans, French, British, et al., who would be cooped up together and be allowed to pet a Polaris once a day—but the President of the United States would still be the only one who could give the order to fire. The U.S. Navy took a dim view of this underwater Tower of Babel, and the loss of the *Thresher*, manned by a highly trained, homogeneous American crew, certainly does not put the Navy in the wrong. Later the idea of international crews was switched to surface ships. On the surface there would be less danger of the crews themselves causing sinkings—the Soviet submarines would take care of that.

As *The Economist* says, it all has a miragelike quality. But perhaps there is an explanation less absurd than the proposals. According to reports which at least have some inherent logic, President Kennedy told Harold Wilson, Britain's new Labour Party leader, that what he was trying to avoid was the danger of a West Germany armed with its own nuclear deterrent. It is not a groundless fear. After World War I, the Germans rearmed through various subterfuges, including arrangements with other nations acting as covers. President de Gaulle is determined to have his own nuclear deterrent. It

The Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY
Johnson City, Tennessee
JAN 31 '67
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

might turn out to be the Germans' too — and not a deterrent.

Whether the schemes for containing the Germans with which President Kennedy appears to be playing could accomplish their objective, is as doubtful as the schemes themselves. In the first place, a strong movement against French-owned nuclear weapons is developing in France. Second, while the West German militarists are no doubt yearning for their own nuclear arsenal, the people are not. The expense is a consideration, as well as the fear of being incinerated. The West Germans would be expected to pay something like a third of the estimated $5 billion cost of a Polaris surface fleet.

In a confused situation, inaction is sometimes better than action. NATO's disarray will not grow worse during a period of watchful waiting; meanwhile, a Berlin settlement might become possible.

Senator Pell's Intervention

The late founder of the IBM Corporation had a five-letter motto: THINK. Senator Claiborne Pell (D., R.I.) has done some thinking on the Berlin-Germany problem. Senator Pell is a friend of President Kennedy's; even if he were an enemy, the President would be well-advised to give prayerful consideration to the Senator's thought (*Congressional Record*, April 11). And so would the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, the State Department and the Soviet Foreign Office. As Arthur Krock wrote in *The New York Times* (April 12), "It would be a day to celebrate if the common sense and the honorable, practical policy proposals which distinguish [Pell's] speech from tired diplomacy could somehow penetrate the Rusk-Dobrynin discussions."

In brief, Pell's proposals for a Berlin solution include the following points:

1. *The Soviets should concede to the West clearly defined land access to Berlin over the Helmstedt-Berlin highway.*

2. *The Helmstedt-Berlin corridor to be internationalized.*

3. *West Berlin to remain free, and the West to retain its present* de facto *right to maintain a garrison there.*

In return for these Soviet concessions, which are essentially a legalization of what already exists, the West will concede:

4. De jure *recognition of East Germany.*

5. *Recognition of the Oder-Neisse line as the frontier between Germany and Poland.*

Further to heal the breach over Berlin, the two blocs would propose that the European Headquarters of the United Nations, presently located in Geneva, and the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, now in Paris, be moved to Berlin, preferably East Berlin. Presumably, if the two halves of the city should be reunited at some time in the future, the entire UN might be situated there.

Recognition of East Germany and the Oder-Neisse boundary will trigger howls of "appeasement" by the war hawks of the West, while the first set of proposals will be no more palatable to the strong-arm diplomats of the Soviet bloc. The latter are Khrushchev's problem, not ours. To the former, Senator Pell issues a timely reminder: ". . . Whenever the question of a rearmed and reunified Germany is discussed, there looms like a cloud in the back of our minds, the recollection that Germany has engaged in three aggressive wars within the past 100 years. Unfashionable as it is to mention today, this is a fact very much in the European mind." Not only the Soviet mind, but the *European* mind, East and West. The fact is that under present conditions no one is eager to see Germany reunified, and under any condition no one wants to see the world incinerated for Germany's sake, however she may be reformed and purified.

In this speech, Senator Pell shows expert judgment, an acute sense of timing — and courage. When the President reads the speech, the question may well arise in his mind: why, at the top levels of the State Department, are not these qualities more in evidence?

Afternoon at the Track

Scripps-Howard really should do something about their reporter, Samuel Stafford, who discovered that Ralph R. Roberts, Clerk of the House of Representatives, was using his official limousine to go to the races, often while the House was in session. Roberts, whose salary is $21,500 a year, made no bones about his trips to the Laurel and Bowie tracks in the shiny black Cadillac—bought and maintained by Uncle Sam—but protested to Stafford: "There's no law against it." He was in a position to know, for in 1959 some other spoilsport on the Scripps-Howard staff, learning that Roberts had used his chauffeur-driven limousine to visit relatives in Indiana, made a stink about it in the Scripps-Howard press.

Now it appears that the Hon. Clerk's joy-hopping is at an end. Rep. E. C. Gathings (D., Ark.) received a letter from a constituent who was enraged that a government car should be used to convey a government employee to the races at the taxpayers' expense. Gathings demanded a caucus of House Democrats to deal with what he termed "a brazen infraction of the rules of conduct." Speaker John W. McCormack (D., Mass.) intervened as peacemaker. He remonstrated with Roberts—he denies he reprimanded him —and Roberts graciously promised not to do it again.

Roberts still feels no sense of wrongdoing, and why should he? He denied making statements attributed to him about Congressional leaders using their official limousines to go to cocktail parties. "Why," said the injured functionary, "I see FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover out there all the time. There's nothing wrong about it at all. A lot of people like to spend an afternoon at the track."

What's the matter with Scripps-Howard, anyway? Are they trying to make a sneak attack on J. Edgar Hoover?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In the Same Boat

If man is uniquely the political animal, evidence accumulates that in our time he has strayed from his nature. The focus of this evidence has been primarily on the arts where, from abstract expressionism to the short stories in The New Yorker, *the sound of creative voices communicating the murmur of their own blood streams has brought the word "estrangement" to the pen of every social critic.*

The leading role of the novelist in this withdrawal is confirmed most recently in an issue of Daedalus *devoted, under the editorship of Albert J. Guerard, to "Perspectives in the Novel." Four of its essays examine current fiction. One by Robert Kiely on three "traditional novelists"—Evelyn Waugh, Graham Greene and Katherine Anne Porter—carries a sufficiently indicative title: "The Craft of Despondency." It is followed by a study of "The Activists" (Saul Bellow, Herbert Gold, Bernard Malamud, Philip Roth, et al.), whose hero, says David Stevenson, is engaged in an "aimless search through the endless clutter of everyday existence for a sense of privately satisfying identity or self."*

A third group, including among others Samuel Beckett, Jorge Luis Borges, John Hawkes and Joseph Heller, is named by David Littlejohn "The Anti-Realists" and defined as the "fictional counterpart of abstract painting, of the surrealist film . . . of 'The Theatre of the Absurd' — of all modern movements, in fact, that take as their basis an extreme manipulation, even a total elimination, of the expected, everyday forms." Finally, in "The Laboratory of the Novel," Peter Brooks discusses the French writers grouped loosely around Alain Robbe-Grillet and Nathalie Sarraute. Summing up the procedure of this group, Mr. Brooks says: "man's environment, reduced to its essentials, is a collection of things, and the novel becomes . . . 'objective' in the sense that the object is the center of attention, while the social and moral superstructures —including the character—which both exemplify and conceal this basic term, are cut away."

This issue of The Nation *contains essays that voice related observations about the theatre (Lionel Abel) and poetry (Hayden Carruth). However, the intent of the issue is not to prove again that the artist has departed from the political platform, but rather to ask whether the platform itself still exists. The forms of political and economic life are so enveloping, and the debate about their practical operation so vivid, that one can overlook the fact that the governing structure has been removed. But articles presented here by J. H. Grainger and Stephen Rousseas force attention to the probability that our situation is that precarious. These pages contain, in addition, a paper by Edward Dean that gives a clue to our state of drift by asking novel questions about the very fashionable quest for identity, and the picture is completed with specific reviews — one, by Hugo Bedau, uncovering a similar moral yawing in recent assumptions about the law, and the other, by Alan Rosenthal, demonstrating the curiously apolitical nature of the Eisenhower administration.*

In short, the artists—though peculiarly conspicuous because conspicuously articulate—have not really split off from society; we are all still in the same boat, and each waiting for someone else to chart a course. It is a reason for concern—it could be a reason for great alarm, except that these writers suggest more than once ways in which an orientation may be found. If it can be shown that alienation is not a sickness of this or that element in society, but that ours is a society alienated in its every part, it becomes possible to attend to the disease and not to the symptoms.

The Fear of Passion

J. H. Grainger

"In order to do great things," said St. Simon, "one must be impassioned." In *Politics as a Vocation,* Max Weber concurred. Passionate devotion to a cause, passion governed by recognition of the ethic of responsibility, should be the hallmark of the great politician, the man who is to put his hand on the wheel of history. But today we feel that he had better not put his hand on the wheel: we are fearful lest he give it a shove. Neither the tension of the Athenian assembly, where orators in passionate debate settled once and for all the fate of the "polis," nor the plastic power of the great nineteenth-century tribunes is appropriate to a time when nearly everything, and much that cannot be contemplated, is historically possible. So it is safer to detach the imaginative vision from the process of politics and accept with D. H. Lawrence that "man no longer expresses himself in his form of government and his President is only his superlative butler."*

Two recent books from England, delimiting, defining, explaining the activity of politics, have this in common—a distrust of political passion. The first is Michael Oakeshott's selected essays, *Rationalism in Politics* (Basic Books), the second, J. D. B. Miller's, *The Nature of Politics* (Duckworth). Oakeshott is fastidious and usually incisive—his elusiveness has been overstressed. Miller is tidy, has a good, plain style, wears everything (perhaps too much) on his sleeve. Both have the repetitiousness of those who are possessed by a few powerful ideas. Both expound the politics of interests, both are hostile to ideology, neither likes the concept of an explicit, overriding "common good." For democracy, the preoccupation of so much American political science, Oakeshott, like E. M. Forster, can raise only two muted cheers. Miller is hardly concerned with it, the word does not occur in his index.

Oakeshott sees men as legitimately passionate about their own concerns: we each pursue our own happiness, connecting, disconnecting, colliding, and somehow get along with one another. We may even have

*For a view of contemporary American politics in similar context, see "Retreat of the Idealists" by Stephen Rousseas and James Farganis; *The Nation,* March 23.

J. H. Grainger, who was educated at Cambridge and has taught widely in Great Britain, is now a member of the Political Science Department, Australian National University, Canberra.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

visions of a better world. But of the passionate politician who would impose his vision upon us he can only say: "If it is boring to have to listen to the dreams of others, it is insufferable to be forced to re-enact them." Here is something of the old Bloomsbury dislike of belief as such—of, in Forster's words, faith as a kind of "stiffening process, a sort of mental starch."

It is the duty of government to protect us against nuisances like "jump-to-glory" politicians. Government "indifferent to 'truth' or 'error' alike" is a limited and specific activity, providing the rule and if necessary the law and order to prevent collisions among men. It should neither inspire nor inflame. Strong, resolute, ironically detached, it presides over "a fair field of folk," in which each cultivates his own friendships, backs his own fancy, pursues his own pleasures, coarse or delectable. Almost everything we look upon is blessed. The activity of politics itself is no more than the pursuit of intimations within a given political tradition; you discern the trends immanent in society and follow them.

This is description and prescription. It applies to all "hereditary, cooperative groups, many of them of ancient lineage, all of them aware of a past, a present and a future which we call 'states.'" But it is peculiarly the result of observing the manner of politics in England. It is the politics of Oakeshott's parish and in it the vulgar agitator thumping his tub, urging plan and rationalization, is plainly out of place. Particularly if he is a foreigner. No erupting personalities, no erupting morals, no conflict of dreams. Oakeshott dislikes as much as Hobbes the clash of arms.

Running through all his widely read and influential works on British political institutions is a skepticism about all political passion. For him the politics of the alert and hopeful Victorian era, a period particularly conducive to general politics, is a vast confidence trick, a bombinating in the void. "What was it all about?" he asks. "Was Church and Land Reform in Ireland so very stupid?" What indeed was the use of all oratorical posturing, worlds away from the slow, grinding friction of effective political solutions? Its legacy, he says, is still with us "so that every problem looks simple until one gets into office."

It is true of course that, in spite of Carlyle, there has never really been a full reception of Great Men in English politics. English historiography has never made and is not likely, in its present gritty Namierite phase, to make much of the popular leaders who took men out of themselves. Even Herbert Butterfield, who still has room for narrative and ideas in history, has gone out of his way to praise that "solid body of Englishmen who throughout the centuries have resisted the wildest aberrations, determined never for the sake of speculative ends to lose the good they already possessed; anxious not to destroy those virtues in their national life which need long periods of time for their development." But he would admit, I think, that apart from these sobersides there is another line of men who brought to politics an imaginative and vivifying power—a line running from Peter Wentworth and Sir John Eliot through the Elder Pitt and Charles James Fox to Disraeli, Gladstone, Joseph Chamberlain, Lloyd George and Churchill.

Professor Miller is an Australian and those who know say that his book is very much a Sydney book. Yet there are pages which read like a Plain Man's Oakeshott, without the emphasis on tradition. What he seeks to give the reader is a diagram of politics, and history is used only as a mine of examples—in much the same manner as Machiavelli. It is a timeless model in which everything is necessary and has its place. He writes cannily, has chapters on individuals and ideas in politics, stops most of the holes; but the burden of his book is that politics starts with a multiplicity of interests and that interests remain the primary forces.

He does not wish to moralize. Like the early Lippmann, he is intent on telling us that politics is not a competition between good and bad men, that indignation will not get rid of bad government. Politics is merely the way of getting things done, the application of government to situations that will not solve themselves. Conflict is the stuff of politics and he dispassionately reviews, without any estimation of their legitimacy, the methods by which interests obtain their ends—violence, corruption, passive resistance, influencing public opinion, directly influencing government opinion, electioneering and political parties.

Most of the arguments for the general interest Miller dismisses as exercises in faith and imagination, although he tentatively accepts "the common life" argument. The general interest may exist in strenuous moments, as in Britain in 1940 or in France in 1958, but "in its most usual employments in politics" it is "a fake." The politician is deceiving himself and others when he claims to possess it. Miller finds it bracing to recognize the fleetingness of the general interest. Here is his emperor with no clothes, or as D. H. Lawrence had it, in his woolen underwear. "Certainly," he says, "if we wish to take a scientific interest in politics and analyze what is actually happening, we cannot afford to cling to a belief in a continuing general interest."

This seems completely to undermine the position of the statesman. For justice is the ground of the statesman, and without the power to invoke the general interest he becomes even less than an advocate; he is merely concerned to secure his ends by any of Miller's seven means. Max Weber did not renounce the ultimate ethic: it supplemented the ethic of responsibility and was still the essential

The Disclosure

From the shrivelling gray
silk of its cocoon
a creature slowly
is pushing out
to stand clear—
not a butterfly,
petal that floats at will across
the summer breeze
not a furred
moth of the night
crusted with indecipherable
gold —
some primal-shaped, plain-winged, day-flying thing.

Denise Levertov

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ground from which one contracted with the diabolical powers of politics. And, without some attempt to adjudicate the legitimacy of the interests concerned, what can this politics of violence, influence and compromise be but a carve-up? For "politics," says Miller, "rests ultimately upon the conflict and accommodation of interests brought into being by the manifold inequalities of a society: broadly speaking, political decision will follow the course along which it is led by the relative strength of interests." The way seems clearly open to a force theory of politics.

What we have in Miller is everything but evaluation. The task is to show what really happens. You can add what he oddly calls "moral spice" as long as it does not get in the way of the analysis. His picture, out of Wallas, Lippmann and Schumpeter, of the archetypal passionate politician, building up a case, trafficking in general ideas like national greatness and human brotherhood, playing upon the prejudices and shibboleths, the simplified and erroneous views of the world of the man in the street is, as one would expect, unflattering.

If we turn to the actual deportment of English politicians as it is revealed through their public gestures, the texture of their speeches, newspaper profile and comment, we find life corroborating scholarship. Mr. Macmillan was once a passionate man, but today he presides pragmatically in the Oakeshott manner over a society happily occupied with bingo, *chemin de fer* and continental holidays. He reads, we are told, Trollope and not George Eliot. Unlike President Kennedy, he attempts no resounding statements: on some occasions he cultivates a demotic frivolity. Indeed his most sympathetic interpreter, Henry Fairlie of *The Spectator*, insists that his strength lies in his capacity to move with the times. His job, and here we see the academic vocabulary at work, is "to put the arrangements of a tired society in order." Tired presumably with bingo, *chemin de fer* and continental holidays. Macmillan stands, says Fairlie, expressly for dull politics: "leadership in a free society is something which should happen because society's arrangements are correct, not something which is consciously (and noisily) sought and as consciously (and noisily) given." Not that Mr. Macmillan is without a sense of the common interest. He is aware that there is "a general hankering after a more equitable and a more efficient society," but he waits until the people can take the consequences of the policy necessary to achieve these ends.

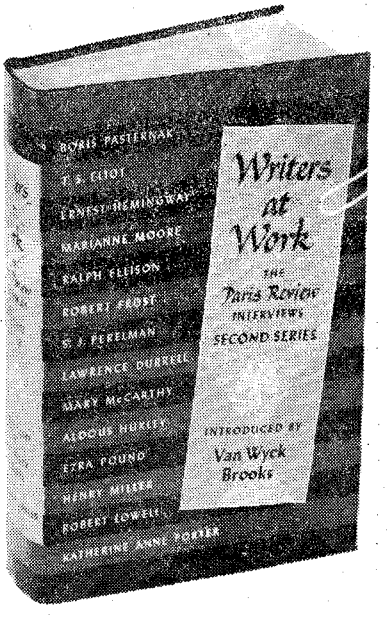
Externally, too, he follows the grain, even in his Common Market decision. And when making his "winds of change" speech in South Africa he knew that history was on his side. The phrase itself seems to derive from "the wind of nationalism and freedom running round the world" which Baldwin invoked when defending his India policy in 1934. Certainly Macmillan's "let the people choose" policy lends substance to the belief that he models himself on Baldwin. But Baldwin, if one recollects his denunciation of Lloyd George, the Macquisten Bill Speech of 1925, and the remarkable occasion when he intervened at the St. George's Westminster by-election to denounce the Press Lords, was much more of a moralist. Indeed, if there has been a politician in this century who considered that his main and perhaps his only task was to find and represent the common interest, it was Stanley Baldwin—"the first revivalist," said the *Financial Times*, in 1952, "produced by the Tory Party." And, they hoped, the last.

As for the other leading Conservative politicians, Mr. Butler has been pursuing the subtlest of political intimations all his life. Mr. McLeod is clever. Lord Home is a cheerful empiricist. Mr. Heath is good at grinding technical negotiation. Mr. Henry Brooke once inadvertently raised a riot in Holborn but he is, as all know, the most unexciting of politicians, the master of remorseless fact. Political passion is to be found in Mr. Enoch Powell but it burns within and is not negotiable electorally. Indeed, the only leading politician in whom there is no dissociation of sensibility, who glows with both intelligence and passion, is Lord Hailsham. But as a "galloper" he has usually been sent to the frontier and at present he is coping with the problem of the declining North.

On the Left, there are no John Brights or Joseph Chamberlains. Aneurin Bevan was "brilliant," an adjective bestowed by journalists on any politician with a taste for metaphor; and in fact, as F. R. Leavis has said of Swift, he was "distinguished by the intensity of his feelings and not by insight into them."

Labour has not since Macdonald's

"Nobody truly interested in contemporary literature would want to miss this."
—LIBRARY JOURNAL



"Another brilliant collection of the famous *Paris Review* interviews . . . . Tops the collection published four years ago, with more variety and an even more fascinating roster of names . . . five major poets are included: Frost, Eliot, Pound, Robert Lowell, and Marianne Moore. The other writers include Hemingway, Durrell, Henry Miller, Katherine Anne Porter, Pasternak, Aldous Huxley, and Ralph Ellison, as well as Mary McCarthy and the zany Perelman. These interviews reveal the men and women behind the big names, what they believe and what they are trying to convey in their work, what other writers or events had impact or influence upon them, how they work, and much else."—ERIC MOON, **Editor, Library Journal**

Each interview is graphically illustrated by a reproduction of a page of the author's manuscript and an original portrait drawing.

Coming May 15th $6.50

WRITERS AT WORK

The "Paris Review" Interviews,
Second Series
Introduced by VanWyck Brooks

•

THE VIKING PRESS, N. Y. 22

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New, from OXFORD

THE
Gates of
Horn

A Study of Five French Realists
by HARRY LEVIN

"THE GATES OF HORN is a critical study, grounded in literary history, of France's great novelists from Balzac to Proust – including Stendhal, Flaubert, Zola. It is in effect a vivid series of critical portraits. Harry Levin's wit is the wit of juxtaposition; his unerring discernment of congruities among such incongruous temperaments is a constant delight to the intellect. Written with elegance and irony, the book is a searching inquiry into realism in the novel and the way in which these writers read life into literature and literature into life. We have had no work quite like it since Edmund Wilson's *Axel's Castle*."
— LEON EDEL. $8.50

A History
of Russia

by NICHOLAS V.
RIASANOVSKY

A balanced picture of Russian history in one eminently readable volume. "In this vivid, panoramic study, Professor Riasanovsky does much more than chronicle battles, dynasties, and shifts of frontier. He takes into account the basic factors of soil, climate, and geography. Religion, literature, and the arts loom large in the evolutionary sequence . . . impressively enhances our understanding of a country that we crucially need to know." — *Chicago Tribune*.
Illustrated. $10.50

At all bookstores
Oxford University Press
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

day wanted a charismatic leader. Hence Attlee's underplaying of his role and his wooden words. Gaitskell was obviously growing in stature: there was always a coiled moral passion within him and Bevan's description of him as "a dessicated calculating machine" was well wide of the mark. As for Harold Wilson, the new leader, we are told that he has a passion for politics. He may become passionate in politics, but his Parliamentary "onslaughts," those facile witticisms and the knockabout journalese, leave doubt about his sensibility.

Is the dissociation of politics from imaginative vision to be deplored? Or is it only that nineteenth-century political passion was an aberration like laissez-faire economics? For a brief period enemies were identified, iniquity attacked, measures adumbrated. Men recovered their political birthright and politicians cultivated a high moral earnestness neither known before nor since. But was the hunger for politics a temporary phenomenon only?

These are the questions which C. A. R. Crosland seeks to answer in the last chapter of *The Conservative Enemy* (Schocken Books). He accepts the conclusions of Myrdal and Lipset that for highly developed countries like Britain, the United States, Sweden, Australia, this is a "post-political" era in which principles are no longer at stake, not because the general interest is waning but because in welfare states there is, according to Gunnar Myrdal, "a fundamental convergence of aims and purposes" derived from the maturing pressures of universal suffrage and the growing prosperity.

Domestically, therefore, nearly all issues are marginal, but it is still possible, thinks Crosland, to make healthy politics out of the extent of social security or the redistribution of income. He even sparks with hope at the thought of the political fuel available in cultural, educational and libertarian issues. Indeed, there is still enough elitism, social deference and class division to keep the radicals warm for quite a time. Such issues may not create doctrines but they are still capable of engendering conviction on both sides. You can have quite a rich politics without thunderous statements and polarization of belief. But for the intellectuals, bored by technical detail, needing a cause to live by, Crosland can provide very little. Presumably, they must disavow politics altogether, or subordinate themselves as "cultural workmen," or run to politicking extremes like nuclear disarmament and beyond it to sectarian millenarianism.

Perhaps the existing and emerging issues identified by Crosland would enable a relatively narrow political nation still to make "sober and yet deeply interested choices." But for the others, the politician must still be one who can charge his words with meaning, and the threadbare language of a technical politics with no goals would be little better than the dying rhetoric of the old politics.

In many countries there are still politicians who look in their hearts and speak, but in none of them is the political experience of the same quality as Britain's. There is also de Gaulle, but no one is yet sure whether he is a sport of history or a portent. It is one of the curiosities of our times that "the greatest living Frenchman" and "the greatest living Englishman" have both been exponents of passionate, dangerous and seemingly archaic politics.

We have all become very good at diagnosis and there is now a formidable consensus that in highly developed countries politics will become more and more esoteric, and that, as the discourse narrows, it will spill over only very infrequently into society. Political choice will no longer engage the heart and mind. For the inside dopester electorate it will become more like studying form; for those who wish to get elected, it will involve something like market research.

In these conditions political heroism of the old desperate kind seems as little likely to flourish as the military virtues. But it is improbable that all the discontents of political man have been articulated, that all tensions will be absorbed by the new political sociology. There is a whole miscellany of grievances which have not yet become political because there is as yet no language to express and illumine them. It is not necessary to invoke catastrophe in order to give some pungency back to politics. The predicaments will come. But meanwhile, the words of Captain Abraham Annesley on the scaffold at Taunton on a September day in 1685 after the Monmouth rebellion have grown very faint:

For had I a thousand lives they should all be engaged in the same cause.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Fences Against Power

Stephen W. Rousseas

In an earlier issue of *The Nation* (March 23, 1963) I attributed the decline of liberalism in the United States to the rise of the end-of-ideology approach to American politics. I wish now to illustrate this thesis by analyzing some of the major postwar works on American capitalism. First, I would like to show that two of the foremost "liberals" in this country, John Kenneth Galbraith and the junior Schlesinger, are in effect conservatives in disguise. Next, I would like to illustrate, by the recent works of Henry Wallich and Milton Friedman, that nineteenth-century liberalism is still very much alive as a force in American economic thinking. In short, I will base this paper on four books and one essay. The four books are: John Kenneth Galbraith's *American Capitalism* (Houghton Mifflin, 1952), and *The Affluent Society* (Houghton Mifflin, 1958); Henry Wallich's *The Cost of Freedom: A New Look at Capitalism* (Harper, 1960); and Milton Friedman's *Capitalism and Freedom* (University of Chicago Press, 1962). The single essay is one that, perhaps, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., would rather forget. Nevertheless, I shall resurrect it. Its title, appropriately, is "Where Does the Liberal Go From Here?" (Sunday *New York Times* Magazine Section, August 4, 1957).

In *American Capitalism* Galbraith outlined his theory of countervailing power. Classical theory, according to Galbraith, assumed the existence of competition in all commodity and factor markets, and it was this assumed dispersion of power that made competition the *self-regulatory* mechanism of a market economy; a mechanism which guaranteed the optimum allocation of scarce resources and hence the greatest possible social happiness. In keeping with Joseph Schumpeter's teaching, Galbraith regards market power as a prerequisite for dynamic progress, but, unlike Schumpeter, he goes on to theorize that the concentration of *original* market power on one side of the market results in the *automatic* rise of countervailing power on the other side, i.e., strong buyers are generated to oppose strong sellers, and vice versa. And it is this *self-generated* countervailing power that serves to hold undue concentration of economic power in check. A distinction of great importance is the fact, to Galbraith, that countervailing power in the modern world replaces competition as the self-generating regulatory force of the economy. But in *American Capitalism* this claim of a self-generating force is modified. In his own words:

> *While countervailing power is of decisive importance in regulating the exercise of private economic power, it is not universally effective. . . . There are a few cases where a very strong market position has proven impregnable even against the attacks of strong buyers.*

From this qualification Galbraith leaps into what I call his "neutral" theory of the state. The power of the state (as in the case of the New Deal's support of the trade-union movement in the thirties) is to be used to redress those *few* imbalances of power not susceptible to the automatic workings of countervailing power. As cir-

Stephen W. Rousseas is associate professor of economics at Cornell. His forthcoming book is The Political Dilemma of American Capitalism.

The 1962 MVHA Award-Winning Book

THE CHALLENGE TO AMERICAN FREEDOMS

World War I and the Rise of the American Civil Liberties Union
By DONALD JOHNSON

The 1962 award-winning study of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, this book analyzes the origin and development of the American Civil Liberties Union and tells of its struggle to preserve traditional civil liberties since the time of the First World War.
May 20 **$5.00**

THE SOUTHERN APPALACHIAN REGION
A Survey **Edited by THOMAS R. FORD**

This comprehensive survey made by 22 research scholars with the aid of $400,000 in foundation grants thoroughly analyzes the social, economic, and cultural conditions of this depressed area of our nation. **$10.00**

A POLISH FACTORY: A Case Study of Workers' Participation in Decision Making
By JIRI KOLAJA

This study of employee participation in the management of a textile factory in Lodz, Poland examines the effects of Communist political ideology upon the character of management-labor relations. **$5.00**

CHARLES A. BEARD: An Appraisal
Edited by HOWARD K. BEALE

In this volume of essays twelve distinguished colleagues of Charles A. Beard appraise his unique contributions to a variety of intellectual activities. **$4.50**

University of Kentucky Press – Lexington

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cumstances warranted, the state would be required to shift its allegiances across the political spectrum. It is a bit difficult to believe that in a democracy the party in power would be oblivious to the political pressures which would determine its success at the polls. Apart from this, however, is Galbraith's damaging admission that his theory of countervailing power "does not function at all as a restraint on market power when there is inflation or inflationary pressure on markets" due to the collusion, in such times, of management and labor against the public. His subsequent book, *The Affluent Society*, is to an appreciable extent a result of his disillusionment with his own theory of countervailing power, and his policy recommendations to cope with this particular failure of countervailing power add up to nothing more than *ad hoc* corrections introduced into the system at the last moment—corrections which quickly degenerate into a hodgepodge of what can be looked upon as moral suasion with a stick.

But my argument concerning the basic conservatism of John Kenneth Galbraith is based on Chapter XII of *American Capitalism* — "The Role of Decentralized Decision." Galbraith posed the following question to himself: ". . . to what extent [is] independent business decision . . . rehabilitated when countervailing power, not competition, is recognized as a restraint on the private exercise of economic power; . . . what interference with the businessman's autonomy is required, not to prevent the misuse of power, but to insure that the economy finds its peacetime norm without too much unemployment or too much inflation?" His answer comes in two parts: the *negative* and the *positive* case for leaving decisions in private hands. Since state intervention is to be strictly limited to those *few* instances where countervailing power is not self-generating, it follows that for the economy as a whole countervailing power will serve to regulate the power of private decision and "as such it provides the negative justification for leaving decision in private hands, for it prevents these decisions from working harm on others." The positive case, on the other hand, is based on the difficulties of administering a planned economy, i.e., on the problems of timing and quality which, according to Galbraith, plagued the British Labour Party during its tenure in office.

I would agree with Galbraith that the problem of the modern world is power. And power, no matter how we view it, is basically a moral problem: power for whom and for what purpose? It is a problem which economic theory has generally avoided by retreating into the never-never land of automaticity, and Galbraith, despite his pretensions, is no exception. Adam Smith, for example, dealt with individuals in competitive markets where power was so widely diffused as to be no social problem at all. In Galbraith, we substitute, in accord with modern sociological usage, the *group* for the individual and posit a self-generating theory of countervailing power. Unlike Smith, however, for whom power is not a social problem, we here have power automatically arising to counterbalance power. We find, that is, the solution to the problem of power not in breaking it down, or by restructuring it in keeping with desired social goals, but by opposing it with more power—layer upon layer. In both Smith and Galbraith, in other words, there is a yearning for automaticity, and thus for the ability to avoid the moral problem of power by winding up the clock and letting it tick off in infinite harmony.

"The consistent liberal," wrote the late Franz L. Neuman, "is not, and cannot be, solely concerned with the erection of fences around political power; he is increasingly concerned with the potentialities of a rational use of political power." Mr. Galbraith is in the tradition of fence-building and it is on this basis that I regard him as conservative, no matter how enlightened. But then there is the other Galbraith of *The Affluent Society*. In an important sense, *The Affluent Society* is an extension of *American Capitalism*—it follows from his earlier and damaging conclusion that countervailing power is totally inoperative under inflationary conditions or, for that matter, under conditions where market power results in a ratchet effect on prices. In both instances, countervailing power does not forestall the tacit or overt collusion of management and labor, nor does it necessarily promote the general welfare. And the state in this situation is powerless, within the given institutional format of Galbraith's *American Capitalism*, to reverse the process.

The structure of Galbraith's new theory in *The Affluent Society* rests heavily on two basic observations: on the dependence effect which has reversed the traditional causal relationship from wants to output, and on the consequent poverty of the public sector. The net result is a theory of social imbalance incapable of correction by the traditional methods of monetary and fiscal policy; or, for that matter, by the operation of countervailing power.

Under these circumstances, one would think that Mr. Galbraith would have *radically* revised his views on the role of government. But his yearning for automaticity has not yet deserted him. Apart from his policy recommendations concerning wage and price controls over key industries via *ex ante* hearings in the Congress, his proposals for the redress of social balance are based on "a system of taxation [on the federal and local levels] which *automatically* makes a pro rata share of increasing income available to public authority for public purposes." Space precludes a detailed analysis of his proposals, but here again Galbraith is busily erecting fences around political power rather than being concerned, in Franz Neuman's terms, with the potentialities of its rational use. His approach is in the nineteenth-century tradition of classical liberalism with its overwhelming emphasis on the negative state. And, along with Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., he is in the forefront of a consensus liberalism in this country which, without severing its umbilical attachment to the negative state, seeks to stretch it in the name of American pragmatism to accommodate the social reforms of the New Deal and the New Frontier. For a glittering example of this approach, I refer the reader to Mr. Schlesinger's recent article in the *New Statesman* ("The U. S. Administration and the Left," February 8, 1963). It is remarkably in keeping with the end-of-ideology thesis of Messrs. Bell and Lipset which, in turn, I regard as basically conservative in that it represents the ideology of the *status quo*.

In his article "Where Does the Liberal Go From Here?" Mr. Schlesinger observed that "nothing is more common these days than lamentation over the plight of liberals"; that over the past thirty years liberalism has been "homeless, irrelevant and impotent"; that there has been, in short, a liberal malaise. As a historian, Mr. Schlesinger describes the two sources of liberalism as "the vindication of the individual against economic privation and despair, [and] the vindica-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion of the individual against moral and spiritual frustration." Mr. Schlesinger then goes on to state that vindication of the individual against economic privation and despair has been largely achieved since the 1930s by "the most brilliant explosion of creative thought this country has ever seen." Like Seymour Martin Lipset, he is convinced that modern industrial society has solved most of its major economic problems. This does not sit well with us today with roughly six per cent of the civilian labor force unemployed, with the alarming decline in our rate of economic growth since the end of the Korean War, and with the persistence of chronic unemployment in the economy over the past decade.

"While there are things to be done in areas of economic direction," writes Mr. Schlesinger, "the major problems of economic structure seem to be solved." And he is of the opinion that "few liberals would seriously wish today to alter the mix in our present mixed economy." Mr. Schlesinger's contentment with the present mix stems from his observation, that "while the economy still suffers occasional flutterings and perturbations, there seems little chance today — because of the economic reforms and inventions of the New Deal — of another crash like that of 1929." But this misses the point. Joan Robinson in her recent and provocative book, *Economic Philosophy* (Aldine Publishing Company, 1962), revives Michal Kalecki's notion of a *political* trade cycle. According to Kalecki, the use of budget deficits, public investment and general government spending to cope with a serious depression has come to be politically acceptable to all parties; but as recovery gets under way the tolerance for these unorthodox techniques wears away before a condition of full employment is reached. The political pressures of big business and the *rentier* classes, according to Kalecki, force the government into inadequate policies which then bring on the next recession. The result is a political trade cycle which, while avoiding major depressions, results in a significantly lowered growth rate—much as we have of late been experiencing. Under conditions such as these, it is true that in some *statistical* sense we can never again experience the Great Depression of the thirties. The point, however, is that the seriousness of depressions or recessions can be judged only in terms of their potential *consequences*, and in this sense we may well be worse off than we were in the past. It now takes less to do more harm. And in the context of a cold war, a lowered growth rate which is the result of a political trade cycle may turn out to be more disastrous for the United States than the Great Depression of the 1930s.

Ignoring all this, Mr. Schlesinger calls for a revitalization of liberalism. Having solved most of the problems of the New Deal, what we now need is a "new" liberalism which, as it turns out, is nothing more than a return to the "old." "The liberal," writes Mr. Schlesinger, "must recover his deeper roots in the American cultural tradition [by shifting his] focus from economics and politics to the general style and quality of our civilization . . . [i.e.,] to stir up our cultural life again [and to fight against] the growing homogenization of American society."

I do not wish to denigrate Mr. Schlesinger's commendable concern, as the saying goes, with the alienation of the individual from himself as well as from society. My objections center on his playing down the economic issue and on his general solution to the problem. In what I regard as "Mr. Schlesinger's ascetic metaphysics," the solution can be arrived at only as "the product (and more often the by-product) of a large and *mysterious* intellectual process, carried on by many minds but each communing principally with itself." And what will the role of government be in all this? Though Mr. Schlesinger makes no direct reference to it, the answer is to be found in Mr. Galbraith's *The Affluent Society*. The public sector is to be balanced against the private: "Federal aid to education, medical care, civil rights, civil liberties, urban and suburban planning," and the like —all the warmed-over problems of the New Deal, which the New Frontier is having so much difficulty realizing. And in keeping with Mr. Galbraith's *American Capitalism*, the liberalism of the New Deal, writes Mr. Schlesinger, "has successfully established its principles—*a balance of forces, countervailing power, the mixed economy.*" The ideological identity of Messrs. Galbraith and Schlesinger is obvious.

We turn now to a well-intentioned conservative, Henry Wallich, and to a walking anachronism, Milton Friedman. The difference between these two gentlemen and Mr. Galbraith is in the degree of *negativeness*

SELECTED POEMS

William Carlos Williams

Introduction by
Randall Jarrell

Poetry written from 1912-1950.

"In the first rank of twentieth century American poets . . . to read him is to renew the gift of life."

—John Ciardi,
Saturday Review

ND Paperbook, $1.50

NEW DIRECTIONS
333 Sixth Ave., New York 14

NOW IN CRITICAL CONDITION, the world's emerging democracies face urgent political questions—which will be answered systematically and specifically in the new, seven-volume series, *Studies in Political Development*. In this first volume of the series, eleven outstanding scientists pool a wealth of new data on communication theory and practice and use the data to develop practical suggestions for strengthening democratic institutions around the world.

Communications and Political Development

Edited by Lucian W. Pye

$6.50

Sponsored by the Committee on Comparative Politics of the Social Science Research Council.

Princeton University Press
Princeton, New Jersey

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

they introduce into their analyses. Their fences are somewhat higher than Mr. Galbraith's. And compared to Mr. Wallich's, Mr. Friedman's fences are holding up the skies.

The Cost of Freedom is a book studded with enervating clichés. It has a tendency to skim over the surface of important issues with an insouciance that is disarming. And Mr. Wallich is, at times, more concerned with the turning of a cute phrase than with the substance of his material. Yet it is an honest attempt to temper modern-day conservatism with the realities of our times. That it is not altogether convincing is another matter. To begin with, Mr. Wallich distinguishes between the "old" freedom which sought to release man from arbitrary power and the "new" freedom which seeks to free him from economic privation. The old freedom which sought equality before the law has largely been realized, but in attempting to achieve the new freedom, Socialists and welfare-statists are placing the hard-won old freedom once more in jeopardy. Mr. Wallich's solution to the problem is the free-market economy, but not in the form of an unbridled laissez-faire capitalism such as Milton Friedman recommends. He recognizes that the need for economic freedom implies a growth in the governmental sector of the economy, but he denies that any form of overall planning is necessary.

Political freedom and government intervention are the two ends of a seesaw: if one end goes up, the other must come down. As an enlightened conservative, however, Mr. Wallich realizes that certain social imperatives cannot be left to private initiative. Government intervention is required, for example, for the stabilization of the trade cycle, for the provision of social security, for the conservation of natural resources, and for the socialization of certain forms of property risk through such governmental agencies as the Federal Housing Administration and the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. To this unavoidable extent some part of our political freedom will be eroded via the growth of the government sphere. Mr. Wallich, however, regards freedom as a scarce resource which must be economized: i.e., some freedom must be sacrificed for the achievement of a limited minimum number of social goals which the market mechanism, operating under the profit motive, cannot, or will not, provide. What we need, in other words, is an optimum mix of the "old" and "new" freedoms, and like a good economist Mr. Wallich tells us that the strengthening of freedom in general is likely to be *marginal.* Presumably, the optimum mix will be found where the marginal cost of freedom is exactly equal to the marginal revenue of government intervention.

Consumers' sovereignty, above all, is to be permitted to reign supreme. Indeed, Mr. Wallich treats us to a delightful illustration of consumers' sovereignty operating at its best: "The unobserving may be pardoned if [they] fail to recognize the housewife pushing her truck in the supermarket as a present-day incarnation of the goddess of liberty." One may be pardoned for smiling at such an image, but the point Mr. Wallich wants to make is that the dispersion of power, so necessary for the survival of political freedom, is best realized in a *super*-market economy. And insofar as major inroads have been made on the perfectly competitive model by the growth of big business (which has made the dynamic progress of modern capitalism possible), and of big unions, Mr. Wallich falls back, with only a few very minor reservations, on Galbraith's theory of countervailing power. "The theory of countervailing power," he writes, "is a bold conception [which] helps to fill the gap left, in the ideology of freedom, by our declining faith in the universal rule of competition. For unless we can rely upon some *automatic* mechanism to check and disperse it, we must somehow come to terms with power."

The general thesis of this book is that we are faced with two mutually exclusive alternatives: capitalism *or* communism. Democratic socialism is by no means a solution since it results in the worse of both worlds, i.e., in the "free-wheeling consumption and relatively low savings of the free economy, and the loss of individual initiative and the frictions of an over-governed central system." Therefore, between the two great monolithic blocks of capitalism and communism, all other alternatives are pulverized.

Though Mr. Wallich's logic has been softened with a certain amount of humanity, Mr. Friedman's book, *Capitalism and Freedom,* is a nightmare of cold logic alone. Mr. Friedman's views are the traditional ones of Frank H. Knight, Henry Simons and Friedrich A. Hayek—all of them associated at one time or another with the University of Chicago, where Mr. Friedman teaches. On this score his views are all too familiar and very, very second-hand. What is new in this book, however, is the brilliant, if sometimes ingenuous, concrete applications of the general principles which have for so long been associated with the University of Chicago's Department of Economics.

Like Mr. Wallich, Mr. Friedman is concerned with freedom. But unlike Mr. Wallich, freedom to Mr. Friedman is not a commodity to be bartered for the few social imperatives of economic freedom. Indeed, economic and po-

Landscape with Figures

What a dream of a landscape!
Cries Mrs. Persepolis, and I
Agree, my gaze follows hers
Out to the giant recumbent
Hills in their sullen haze
Brooding some brutal thought
As it were about myself &
Mrs. Persepolis, who are now
Alone in a closed garden
With various flowers & bees
And a feeble fountain that drips
On a stone in a heart-shaped
Pool with a single leopard-
Like frog immobilized all
Morning at his predatory
Meditations, making me think
Mrs. Persepolis not too old
With her bright voice &
Wrinkling skin at the wrist
Patterned in sunburnt diamonds
But still a game old girl
(And I a game old guy) good
For a tumble in the August
Grass right at the center
Of the dream of a landscape

Till I see her glittering eye
Has taken this thought exactly
As the frog's tongue takes a fly
So that we laugh and the moment
Passes but Mrs. Persepolis
As the bees go about their business
And we go in to have lunch
(How cold the house, the sudden
Shade! I shiver, and Mrs.
Persepolis shivers too, till
Her bangles bangle) my dear
Mrs. Persepolis, beautiful
Exile from childhood, girl
In your rough wrinkled sack
Suit, couldn't you cry
Over that funny moment when
We almost fell together
Into the green sleep of the
Landscape, the hooded hills
That dream us up & down?

Howard Nemerov

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AN UNPRECEDENTED OFFER FROM THE MID-CENTURY BOOK SOCIETY

(as many as eleven books or values up to $54.90 for as little as $3.95)

Take any 3 selections on this page FREE

Take another one as your first choice (at member's discount) when you join The Mid-Century Book Society. Enclose payment now and receive a free gift! (See below)

165. Lord of the Flies by William Golding; **The Petty Demon** by Fyodor Sologub. Golding is perhaps the most provocative novelist writing today. This story of a group of young boys, atomic war survivors, their struggle to re-establish civilization, and their tragic reversion to savagery—is now recognized as a modern classic. *Flies* is the most influential and widely discussed novel since *Catcher in the Rye*. This new edition contains a perceptive introduction by E. M. Forster. Sologub's rediscovered masterpiece presents a satiric, savage picture of small town life in 19th century Russia. Retail Price for both books $9.95. Member's Price $6.50 *(counts as one free selection)*.

132. Dictionary of Slang & Unconventional English by Eric Partridge. A 1300-page volume filled with lucid, lively definitions of colloquialisms, vulgarisms, Americanisms, and every other word you won't find in a dictionary, including four letter words and their longer and shorter cousins. A monumental work of scholarship, planning and arrangement that is spiced with wit, wisdom, and humanity. An indispensable reference work. Retail Price $16.00. Member's Price $9.95.

135. The Genius of Leonardo Da Vinci. Here is a beautifully organized work presenting the original mind of Leonardo on painting and the painter's life, assembled from his *Notebooks* and *The Treatise on Painting*. From his concept of Man and Nature, the problems of space and light, the painter's studio and the painter's life and dignity, we get not only a remarkably "modern" philosophy and psychology of painting, but a profound "guide" to the conduct of life. Supplemented with incisive biographical detail and notes by Andre Chastel, with 132 illustrations in color and black and white. Retail Price $12.50. Member's Price $8.95.

138. Rimbaud and Baudelaire by Enid Starkie. Two books. The definitive biographies of two geniuses whose poems were an intense recreation of their tortured lives. Baudelaire, dandy and drug addict, doomed to live an impossible love for Jeanne Duval, his "Black Venus." Rimbaud—a debauchee of remarkable pertinacity, a scholar, a slave trader, a victim of a bullet wound inflicted by his closest friend, Verlaine. Dr. Starkie's interpretations of the lives of two of our most influential contributors to modern literature is at once stimulating, sensitive, and original. Retail Price $20.00. Member's Price $9.95 *(counts as one free selection)*.

169. The Western: From Silents To Cinerama by Geo. N. Fenin & William K. Everson. A lavishly illustrated, lovingly written account of the most American of film art forms. Here is the story of an American myth—the cowboy, the symbol of our never-ending battle between good and evil, of loneliness and personal courage. Meet again such widely different cowboys as William S. Hart, Tom Mix, Buck Jones and Hoot Gibson—John Wayne and Gary Cooper. Here are all the old stars, the "B" Westerns, the "adult Westerns," the romantic illusions of our most exciting heroes, Wyatt Earp, Billy the Kid, Jesse James. An indispensable book for any film buff. Retail Price $12.50. Member's Price $8.95

88. Parade's End by Ford Madox Ford. The four novels (in one volume) that have been compared most often to *Remembrance of Things Past*. An astonishingly accurate, dazzling prophesy of the breakdown of the old ruling class, as seen through the life of Christopher Tietjens, "the last English Tory." "There is no novelist in this country more likely to live than Ford Madox Ford . . . the Tietjens series (Parade's End) seem to me almost the only adult novels dealing with the sexual life that have been written in English. They are almost our only reply to Flaubert." Graham Greene. Retail Price $7.50. Member's Price $5.50.

6. Justine and Balthazar by Lawrence Durrell. The first two novels of the remarkable Alexandria Quartet. *Justine* is poetry in the form of prose; a dazzling evocation of Alexandria and its people—"sensual and skeptical, self-torturing and passionate." *Balthazar* is an extraordinary treatment of the same characters from an entirely different point of view, enabling us to probe further into the intricate love story of Justine and the Alexandrian world. Retail Price $7.90. Member's Price $5.25 *(counts as one free selection)*.

44. Mountolive and Clea by Lawrence Durrell. The third and fourth novels of the tetralogy. Durrell weaves a modern Arabian Nights, with a lyrical exploration of the forms of love that has not been equalled in this century. "Durrell is the first contemporary novelist in a long time to lead me to believe he is telling me something new, and to captivate my imagination." Lionel Trilling. Retail Price $7.90. Member's Price $5.25 *(counts as one free selection)*.

129. Van Gogh: A Self Portrait. W. H. Auden's masterful editing of the three-volume letters revealing the mind and soul of this tormented genius, this "angel of a painter," "The letters are among the most touching, eloquent, tragic and appalling documents ever written . . . An extraordinary untechnical exposition of Vincent's aesthetic theories, his ideas for specific pictures, his enormous struggle to give form to those ideas . . . they present a deeply moving, tragic story of a suffering human being." *Emily Genauer*. Includes 36 of the finest Van Gogh paintings and drawings. Retail Price $10.00. Member's Price $6.95.

92. Looking at Pictures by Sir Kenneth Clark. One of the great art historians and critics of our time shows you how to find the *inner meanings* and *intricate harmonies* in the world of paintings. In his brilliant analyses of such painters as Leonardo, Titian, Botticelli, Rembrandt, Delacroix, Courbet and Seurat, Sir Kenneth has the rare skill of making us feel that his discoveries are your own; of leaving us, as it were, alone in the presence of great art. Contains 75 reproductions including superb color plates of the paintings discussed. Retail Price $10.00. Member's Price $7.95.

85. New Arden Shakespeare: Richard II, Antony and Cleopatra, King Lear, The Tempest. A welcome contrast to the *ponderous double-columned editions* that are virtually unreadable. Here are the perfect volumes of Shakespeare, beautifully designed and printed, to make the reading a delight for the connoisseur and the newcomer. Four separate volumes with brilliant introductory analyses and detailed, but unobtrusive textual notes and references. Retail Price $15.40. Member's Price $8.95 *(counts as one free selection)*.

149. A World on the Wane by Claude Levi-Strauss. One of the most eminent anthropologists of our day relives his experiences with the Amerindian tribes of the Brazilian jungles. Here are accounts of the Nambikwara, who win security by giving wives to their chief; the diseased, superstition-ridden Tupi-Kawahib, whose weird tribal dances lasted for days. This fascinating exploration into "human society reduced to its most basic expression" is perhaps the most remarkable work on primitive culture ever written. Contains many intriguing drawings and 48 pages of astounding photographs. Retail Price $12.50. Member's Price $8.95.

167. The Religion of the Greeks and Romans by C. Kerenyi. A world-famous authority's highly original approach to the study of the classical religious cults in terms of their "style." A magnificent integration of stunningly sensuous photographs and illuminating theory. Using some of the most astounding visual presentations of Greek and Roman art, Kerenyi emerges with a stimulating viewpoint on the pagan cults of Dionysus, Apollo, Zeus, Hera, the cults of Athena and Artemis; the cults of Rome and others. 124 photographs. Retail Price $10.00. Member's Price $6.95.

155. The Complete Tales of Henry James, Volumes I and II. Edited by Leon Edel. A genuine Jamesian discovery—a collection of his earliest short stories, written before he was thirty, including many he never gathered in book form. Jacques Barzun calls them "the first brilliant performances of an incomparable genius." Retail Price $11.90. Member's Price $6.95 *(counts as one free selection)*.

114. Agee on Film. The legendary James Agee, poet, critic, journalist, novelist, presented here in his most exciting form—the film scenarios which he elevated into vivid and moving works of art. Agee combines a loving and exacting knowledge of all technical aspects of film with the eye and ear of a born poet. The results are such beautifully-written screenplays as *The African Queen, The Night of the Hunter, The Bride Comes to Yellow Sky*, and *Noa Noa*, the revolutionary unproduced scenario based on the life of Paul Gauguin. Retail Price $7.50. Member's Price $4.95.

121. New Arden Shakespeare: Julius Caesar, Macbeth, The Merchant of Venice. Three more volumes in this most valuable edition of Shakespeare—masterpieces of printing, design, scholarship and readability. "It is difficult to imagine a more complete or satisfactory edition." Lionel Trilling. Retail Price $10.95. Member's Price $7.95 *(counts as one free selection)*.

178. The Letters of Oscar Wilde edited by Rupert Hart-Davis. An extraordinary collection of 1,098 letters, many published for the first time, that proves Wilde to have been one of the greatest correspondents in the English language. A brilliantly edited book, featuring the first full text of the notorious *De Profundis*, the long letter to Lord Alfred Douglas. This book is *by* Wilde, but it is also unquestionably the best book *about* Wilde. Retail Price $15.00. Member's Price $10.95.

Now is the most opportune time to join America's most provocative book club. The Mid-Century Book Society offers you the widest, most unusual selection of titles ever presented on these pages, at the greatest possible savings. Each book is an exciting work of art, a book of permanent value to add to your library. You take any three of the books free. Take an additional one as your first Society selection, at member's discount prices. You need buy only four more books during the year, from the more than 70 offered, all at substantial discounts. For every four selections, you will receive a free bonus book of your choice. Yearly savings average 50% or more. Why not add truly important books to your library at the lowest possible cost? Take advantage of this unprecedented offer today.

133. The Short Novels of Dostoevsky. Introduction by Thomas Mann. A superbly representative collection of the range and depth of Dostoevsky, the surging wealth of passions and visions, the "criminal" insight and confession, the mischievous humor, fantastic comedy and cheerfulness of spirit. "If Dostoevsky had written nothing else but the six short novels . . . his name would no doubt still deserve a pre-eminent place in the history of the world's narrative literature." Thomas Mann. 811 pages. Contains *The Double, The Gambler, Uncle's Dream, The Eternal Husband, Notes From Underground* and *The Friend of the Family*. Retail Price $6.00. Member's Price $4.95.

32. The Henry Miller Reader. The most exciting and revealing introduction to the many worlds of Henry Miller, "whose originality and richness of technique are matched by the variety and daring of his subject matter. His boldness of approach and intense curiosity concerning man and nature are unequalled in the prose literature of our times." Essays, stories, autobiography and substantial parts of *Cancer, Capricorn* plus *Black Spring* and *Sexus*, two books still not published in America. Retail Price $6.50. Member's Price $4.85.

24. Mythologies by W. B. Yeats. A new edition of Yeats' magnificent rendering of the Irish tales of the supernatural. A collection of 7 books, 60 stories written over a span of 24 years, each bearing the magical mark of the greatest poet in English of the twentieth century. A book to read and re-read for the sheer joy of it. Retail Price $5.00. Member's Price $4.25.

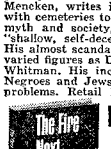
84. No! In Thunder by Leslie Fiedler. Mr. Fiedler, perhaps our most acidic social and cultural critic since Mencken, writes in "the hope of offending all those with cemeteries to defend." His subjects are literature, myth and society, with emphasis on what he finds "shallow, self-deceiving or specious in our culture." His almost scandalous essays include writings on such varied figures as Dante and Faulkner, Kafka and Walt Whitman. His incisiveness cuts across the unease of Negroes and Jews in America, and other provocative problems. Retail Price $5.00. Member's Price $3.95.

19. The Complete Works of Nathanael West. The four novels of a truly original voice—a writer whose savagery, cynicism and taut style still cast a strong influence over contemporary American Novelists. Includes *The Dream Life of Balso Snell, A Cool Million, Miss Lonelyhearts*, and *The Days of the Locust*. Retail Price $5.00. Member's Price $3.95.

144. Life, Death and the Law by Norman St. John-Stevas. Penetrating essays on Anglo-American laws that attempt to govern our moral life in six areas: birth control, artificial insemination, homosexuality, suicide, sterilization and euthanasia. Retail Price $5.95. Member's Price $4.95.

176. The Deadlock of Democracy by James MacGregor Burns. Mr. Burns advances a profound and original analysis of the American political system—that in reality there are *four* parties: a Presidential Democratic Party and a Congressional Democratic Party, a Presidential Republican and a Congressional Republican Party. His book brilliantly demonstrates how this four-party handicap has continually resulted in deadlock and drift in American policy. He traces its origins to the basic *differences* between Jeffersonian and Madisonian politics and shows with the skill of a practical politician how the four-party concept works in all aspects of our government. He then outlines a radical new kind of bipartisan program to cure this ill and calls for "responsible, committed, effective and exuberant leadership." The most powerful and important book on American politics to appear in a decade. Retail Price $5.95. Member's Price $4.95.

83. Four Screenplays of Ingmar Bergman. Four of Bergman's most distinguished films, almost Shakespearean in range: the elegant sex comedy—*Smiles of a Summer Night;* the terrifying medieval allegory—*The Seventh Seal;* the haunting, deeply moving *Wild Strawberries;* and the uniquely Bergmanian study of the supernatural—*The Magician*. The personal style and vision of this individual, complete film-maker is beautifully revealed in the delights and subtleties of these screenplays. Retail Price $6.00. Member's Price $4.95.



FREE This controversial new book if you enclose payment now.

The Fire Next Time *by James Baldwin*. In simple, lucid prose, Mr. Baldwin bares his soul—speaking out on such subjects as the NAACP, the Black Muslims and the *rise* of Negro power in the United States. Here is the book which is lighting a fire under black and white America. You may call it a warning from an enemy or a plea from a friend—but you won't be the same after you read its provocative, shattering message.

MC-115

THE MID-CENTURY BOOK SOCIETY, 115 East 31st Street, New York 16, N.Y.

Please enroll me as a member of the Mid-Century Book Society. Enter my FREE subscription to the Mid-Century Magazine and begin my membership by sending me the free selections I have listed below plus my first membership selection. (You may take one, or more books, as your membership selection at the special reduced prices.) After this introductory offer, I need buy only four more selections during the coming year at substantial discounts from the publisher's price. For every four selections purchased at the member's reduced price, I shall receive FREE a fifth selection of my own choosing. **Please indicate your choices below by number.**

1. SEND THE FOLLOWING SELECTIONS FREE —with Membership Selection(s) at the right.	2. SEND THE FOLLOWING SELECTION(S) AT SPECIAL MEMBER'S PRICE(S)

Name .....

Address .....

City .....Zone .....State.....

☐ Please charge my account and bill me for my first selection, plus shipping expense.

☐ My check is enclosed. Please send me my free copy of The Fire Next Time. (Mid-Century will pay the postage. NYC residents please add 3% sales tax.)

NA-7

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

litical freedom, as interpreted by Mr. Friedman, are one and the same thing. With a logical consistency which is positively frightening for its lack of any sense of current or historical reality, he grinds out the implications of his ideological position. He begins by confronting us with an implacable and untenable dualism. Government and freedom are not only antithetical, as in Mr. Wallich's book, they are mutually exclusive. But Mr. Friedman is not an anarchist. The government does have a role to play in enforcing the rules of the game, and in providing a frame of reference for their orderly change when necessary and within the limits of a private-enterprise economy.

Historically, according to Mr. Friedman, capitalism gave rise to freedom. But he is careful, in view of Hitler and Mussolini, to state that capitalism is a necessary though not sufficient condition for freedom. Yet apart from Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, it is clear that he has trapped himself in a tautology from which there is no escape. Simple logic tells us that the proposition "if capitalism then freedom, and if freedom then capitalism" (which is what Mr. Friedman is, in effect, saying), implies the *logical identity* of "capitalism *and* freedom" —which is, of course, the title of Mr. Friedman's book! Secure within the cocoonlike warmth of his tautology, Mr. Friedman is then prepared to follow the logic of his definitions to wherever they might lead him—even if he has to deny the existence of the twentieth century.

If we are to realize freedom, then it follows from its logical identification with capitalism that the market mechanism *must* be applied to every nook and cranny of our economy. I cannot, here, go into the intricate details of Mr. Friedman's ingenious policy proposals, but I can assure the reader that the logic he uses to arrive at them is impeccable. A summary listing of some of his recommendations, however, will suffice to give the reader a taste of Mr. Friedman's honey. He is for abolishing the minimum wage rate, the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Federal Communications Commission, the social security program, public housing, all national parks, all public schools, the Fair Employment Practices Commission, the progressive income tax, all taxation of business enterprises, and the licensing of particular enterprises, occupations and professions, to mention only a few. He is convinced that the market mechanism can do a better job, and on this score he is also in favor of the virtual abandonment of the Federal Reserve System. Furthermore, though he opposes "right to work" laws he considers the abolition of "yellow dog contracts" an abridgment of individual freedom. And he feels that the government's monopoly of our postal system should be opened up to private competition.

This book should cure, once and for all, anyone who is tottering on the brink of laissez faire; or at least make it clear to him just what he must commit himself to if he is to be a thoroughgoing liberal, in Mr. Friedman's sense of the word. Yet I must admire Mr. Friedman's unflinching consistency. He does not balk when his logic leads him to espouse the freedom of any individual to promote communism in voluntary association with others. If I had the power to do so (and if the costs were not so horrendous to contemplate), perhaps the greatest practical joke I could play on Mr. Friedman would be to put every one of his proposals into immediate effect and then sit back, watch the chaos set in, and laugh while waiting for his next book of revelations.

There is, however, one instance where Mr. Friedman's logic has abandoned him, and this has to do with national security. Like Adam Smith, he agrees that opulence must give way to defense. Freedom, according to Mr. Friedman, is being threatened from two directions. There is, first, the external threat of the Soviet Union and, then, the more subtle internal threat of the do-gooders or, in Mr. Friedman's words, of "men of good intentions and good will who wish to reform us." The two threats, however, are not independent of each other. The external threat "requires us to devote a sizable fraction of our resources to our military defense," which of course "concentrates a dangerous amount of economic power in the hands of political authorities." Mr. Friedman is aware that defense cannot be left to the market, and faced with the necessity of defense he comes out weakly against the needless intensification of government intervention "in areas unrelated to the military defense of the nation." It is on these grounds that he opposes the medical care for the aged program and the lunar parts of our space program. One cannot help feeling sorry for Mr. Friedman, for he is caught in the trap of arguing that if, in a storm, we can somehow remove the froth, the waves may not subside but they will at least be that much less tall. For once the logic of his position should have driven him into the despair of proclaiming that all is lost. But he lacked the strength of his convictions as well as of his logic, and instead, like Thomas Aquinas, he deserts his logic and takes that infinite step into faith. Unsupported by any analysis on his part, and with the burden of the evidence weighing heavily upon him, he nevertheless makes his final declaration of faith on the last page of his book: "I *believe* that we shall be able to preserve and extend freedom despite the size of the military programs and despite the economic powers already concentrated in Washington."

To sum up, the modern-day consensus liberalism of Messrs. Galbraith and Schlesinger is a concrete illustration of the end-of-ideology approach of Messrs. Bell and Lipset. And what I have tried to show in my analysis is that it is deeply rooted in the tradition of fence-building. It is largely a middle-class view of democracy which insists on defining it negatively in terms of conflict resolution within the context of a checks-and-balances system which, by its reliance on automated gadgetry, is presumed to be self-regulating and self-equilibrating. In its dedication to the *status quo*, it fails to consider the use of political power for the realization of any social goals which constitute a threat to existing institutional arrangements.

On the Road

It is not good to be poor.
It is good to listen to the wind,

but not when you stand
alone on a road at night
with all your winter parcels,
like a mailbox waiting for
a postman who will never arrive.

The wind comes in carloads,
and goes by with a rushing
of lights and emptiness.

I think only of my home.
I have a pair of slippers for a wife
whose bare feet are waiting.

There is a light through the trees —
it is only a simple place,
with two souls strung together
by nerves and poverty.

It is not good to be poor —
and there are no coins in the wind.

John Haines

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It fails, in other words, to dig deep or to engage in any structural criticism of the basic values of our society or the institutional complex to which they give rise.

As for Mr. Wallich, he is busily defending the approaches to the fort wherein the goddess of liberty resides, while Mr. Friedman, in panic, has flooded the moat, pulled up the drawbridge and barricaded himself behind an impenetrable wall of logical irrelevancies. Though Mr. Wallich is less secure within the logic of his position than Mr. Friedman, Mr. Friedman more than Mr. Wallich has lost touch with the world of reality. Messrs. Galbraith and Schlesinger, on the other hand, though still attached to the same classical fortress of freedom, have forayed out into the real world and have gotten lost in the brush. But they are all part and parcel of the same obsolescent tradition.

The Traps of Identity

Edward S. Dean

It is the intellectual fashion nowadays to emphasize the need for a sense of identity. The prevailing illness of our time, it is thought, is a lack of identity. The discussion is not confined to books and periodicals, but can crop up at any cocktail party. It seems that everyone is trying to find himself. How did this concern about identity come about? Why is it so desirable to have an identity problem? And is this discussion doing anyone any good?

The identity problem has a long history; in its peculiarly American form it dates back to certain assumptions made by the founding fathers about the nature of man and his needs and possibilities. As Henry James has said, "It is a complex fate to be an American," for the American faith assumes the endless perfectibility of man, and that people can be what they want or ought to be if only they will make up their minds to it.

The identity problem has of late years taken new shape under the impact of David Riesman's *The Lonely Crowd*, in which he maintains that other-directedness has replaced inner-directedness as the chief determinant of American social behavior.

Coming when it did, Riesman's idea was widely acclaimed. Many intellectuals were suffering from a guilty conscience for their illiberalism and cowardice. Good pay, love of luxury and the threat of McCarthyism had made conformists of us all. The inheritors of the post-World War II world were feeling bad—but they never had it so good. And along came Riesman with the balm of other-directedness to assuage the bite of conscience. After all, it was not just ourselves; it was the whole American character that had changed.

People thus became concerned about a lack of a sense of identity. Their distress has puzzled me because I have always feared identity and preferred anonymity, being concerned about how I might be *identified*. Here is an example of what I mean.

Not so long ago, two men, William A. Mackie and Hamish Scott MacKay, were deported from the United States for something they had done twenty-five years before. Mackie was sent to Finland and MacKay to Canada. Both men were accused of having been members of the Communist Party during the 1930s, and both denied it.

But suppose they had been members of the Communist Party during the 1930s. Was that so bad? After all, it was the time of the Great Depression, when prospects for the average man were so poor that it seemed that nothing but good could come from a social revolution.

Now all that was behind them. Were they still interested in the Communist Party? I doubt it, and nothing was presented during the eight years their case was before the courts to suggest it.

But Mackie and MacKay did not escape from the law that required their deportation. The lawmakers who passed the Walter-McCarran Act seemed to think that once a Communist always a Communist, as though there were some essence that compelled a man to be a Communist. And Mackie and MacKay became victims of such a concept of identity.

It can be objected that, obviously, an undesirable or wrong identity can be harmful. What is needed, I am told is a *sense* of identity. But

Edward S. Dean, M.D., is a psychiatrist for the San Francisco General Hospital and the San Francisco Youth Guidance Center.

Are today's young Germans repeating the political sins of their fathers? Read

The Germans

AN INDICTMENT OF MY PEOPLE

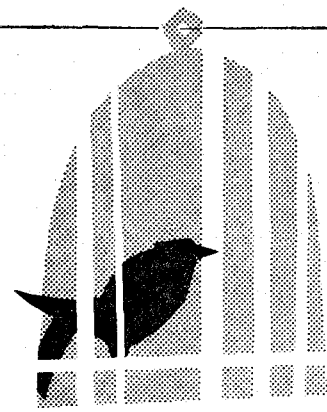
By GUDRUN TEMPEL

A fearless, uncompromising book; highly personal, intensely critical, bluntly to the point, by a journalist who grew up under Nazi rule. Her revelations have extraordinary significance for both Germany and the rest of the world. With an introduction by KAY BOYLE

$3.95, now at your bookstore

RANDOM HOUSE

"Life's true meaning in the pokey . . ."— *Life*
"Funny."— *The New Yorker*
"Wry, symbolistic, deadpan."— *Newsweek*



THE PRISON LIFE OF HARRIS FILMORE

a novel by

JACK RICHARDSON

author of *The Prodigal*, *Gallows Humor*, *Lorenzo* $3.95

NEW YORK GRAPHIC SOCIETY

Greenwich, Connecticut

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MR PRESS BOOKS

THE MENACE OF THE MIRACLE: GERMANY FROM HITLER TO ADENAUER

by HEINZ ABOSCH

"A solid mass of evidence, well provided with facts and analyses." — *L'Année Politique & Economique*

"A book to make you think seriously, for it reveals the German problem in all its nakedness." — *L'Avanti*

Publication: April 22. Price: $5

THREE TACTICS: THE BACKGROUND IN MARX

by STANLEY MOORE

An analysis of tensions and conflicts in Marx's theories connected with the quarrels over tactics that have split each generation of Marxists since the death of Engels. The aim of the work is to trace back to Marx some of the issues currently dividing Khrushchev, Mao, and Tito.

Publication: May 30
List price on publication: $2.25
Prepublication price: $1.50

THE LIFE AND IDEAS OF ROBERT OWEN

by A. L. MORTON

A general account of the life and work of Robert Owen, the founder of British Cooperation and Socialism, through his own writings and works.

Published in March. Price: $3.50

MONTHLY REVIEW PRESS
333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N.Y.

I enclose $..... Please send me:

☐ The Menace of the Miracle: $5
☐ Three Tactics at prepub. price: $1.50
☐ Robert Owen: $3.50

NAME .....
STREET .....
CITY .....
STATE .....

MR PRESS

I am not at all comforted by restricting identity to the subjective realm.

Take, for example, a salesman of my acquaintance who was well practiced in the art of "pitching." A successful pitch meant financial gain. He found the method useful not merely in his selling but also in his social relations. He could manipulate people to obtain what he wanted, playing upon their feelings, desires and emotions. My salesman friend took pride in his ability to pitch. In fact, it was almost the only respect in which he felt confident of himself, for he secretly looked upon himself as weak and inadequate. Much of his behavior was intended to conceal weakness and impress others with his strength.

His need to impress led to an uncomfortable insincerity in his personal relationships. To authenticate himself, he would have needed to develop some conviction of his actual strength; that is, to overcome his subjective sense of identity.

It could be objected that the trouble here was a mistaken sense of identity, a *bad* identity. But I am familiar with a few instances in which a "good" identity has led to trouble. For instance, consider the person whose problem is overconfidence. He is ready to try anything, regardless of his qualifications; he likes to run things, be the manager; and he can think that his performance is good when in the judgment of an impartial audience it is poor. Doting parents sometimes lead a child to believe that whatever he does is just about perfect. In time to come such a child will have difficulty coping with the world—unless his view of himself finds correction in other quarters.

But I am told that I miss the point, that I have been concerning myself with false identities, with labeling. (Somehow I had always thought that a label served to identify.) The identity-seekers tell me that the problem which besets them is something special, deeper and more organic: it is a *lack* of identity.

Could it be that they really want a label? To help solve this puzzle, we can turn to the psychoanalyst, Erik Erikson.

Erikson's essay, "The Problem of Ego Identity," contains a long quotation from George Bernard Shaw in which Shaw describes himself as a child and a young man and tells how he became a writer. Shaw established an identity for himself which Erikson generalized as follows: "Man, to take his place in society must acquire a 'conflict-free,' habitual use of a dominant *faculty*, to be elaborated in an *occupation;* a limitless *resource*, a feedback, as it were, from the immediate *exercise* of this occupation, from the *companionship* it provides, and from its *tradition;* and finally, an intelligible *theory* of the processes of life. . . ."

This weighty sentence requires some study to decipher its meaning. The best I can come up with is a summary of the elements of success. Like Shaw, you too can become rich and famous through creative work.

Now we are on familiar ground. Success problems have been well-known to most of us, and the subject has its own vast literature. But that literature has gone out of fashion, and people now shun any mention of striving for success. The cultivated man of the mid-twentieth century does not admit that he suffers from ambition and lack of success. No, *his* problems are more refined: he suffers in his identity.

The success striving seems to provide the motive power for other-directedness; that is, for conformity. (Conformity is a rose that would smell sweeter by any other name.) One is helped to success if one conforms to the desires of those who have the power to confer success. One must conform to their expectations—or give them something they did not know they really wanted.

This is a change from the time of our frontier society when Riesman's inner-directedness was the dominant mode. People no longer wrest a fortune from nature. In our new, hierarchical, bureaucratized society the road to success is through people.

But the identity-seekers — status-seekers?—reject a success interpretation of the identity problem. They feel that I have grievously misunderstood them, and they resent my imputations, as if I had accused them of some coarse, vulgar motive.

Their indignation is misplaced. Since when has success been a coarse, vulgar motive? Traditionally, success has been regarded as a virtue. I am reminded of G. K. Chesterton who in his *What I Saw in America* observed that the American success motive has little to do with materialism and much to do with a kind of national religious outlook in which one must "make good" in order to be good.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The American not only has to be successful; he must also be right. His striving for virtue through success leads to moral conflict, because of the need for conformity. Those organization men who conform against their will must suffer a deformation of the spirit; and they are inclined to attribute their distress to a lack of a sense of identity.

And when they declare their need for a sense of identity, ignoring self-contradiction, they merely compound their difficulties. For a preoccupation with one's identity can lead to a distressing self-dissatisfaction that cannot be resolved. He who asks himself, "Who am I? What am I supposed to be?" is likely to become aware of defects, real or illusory, that he feels no hope of changing. For what can he do — will into existence a quality he thinks desirable? If I tell someone to be strong, he right away feels weak; and if I tell him to be bold, he thinks himself timid. Even if he should carry out my command, his act will lack authenticity and have the quality of play-acting.

People sometimes pine for a desired state of existence, and it is astonishing how crippling this can be. One fellow I know wanted to be a "nice guy," and fell into a paralysis of action for fear of *not* being a nice guy. (One cannot *be* a nice guy, for that is a judgment, and for it to have significance it must be made by others.)

People sometimes set impossible standards for themselves and thereby bring about their own defeat. A friend of mine — also given to pining — wanted to be a musician, but gave up music because he knew he could never compose as well as Brahms. Another friend of mine yearned to be a writer, and I never knew why he didn't write until I learned that he wanted to be a *great* writer.

Such are the obstacles that arise when the self is conceived statically. Yet one is constantly subject to change at all levels of his being. His organic processes change him; his experiences change him. His life in society involves him in changing situations, and his responses are not fixed; though habit looms large, they are variable. His changing responses are felt subjectively as choice and freedom. And his choices will change according to his view of his situation and the possibilities he sees within it.

My conclusion is that it is useless — nay, harmful — to try to *be* anything; that is, to strive for a definite identity. A preoccupation with identity can lead to doubt, fear and depression, if not play-acting, pretension and absurdity, based on fantastic notions of what one is or should be. Action is what is needed, practical action, something well within the scope of one's powers. And perhaps in the end one can do more than he thought — and people may call it creative.

Theatre of Politics: the Negro

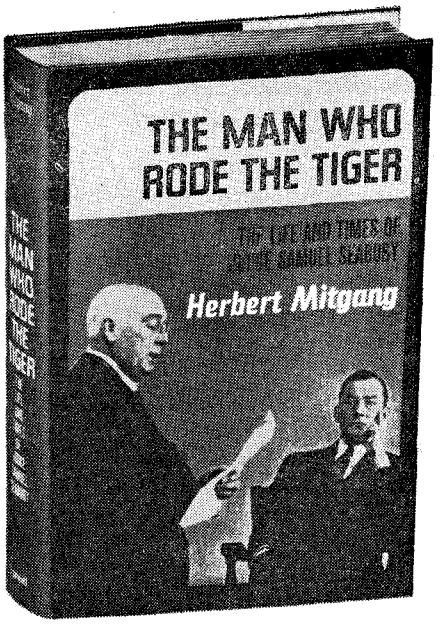
Lionel Abel

In the sixteenth century a play could be political—to some extent, at least —if about a king. For the love affairs of a king, in that century, had political, as well as romantic reference. Our age is quite different: it is practically impossible to conceive of a politician, a President of this republic, a leader of the CIO or of the British Labour Party, even thinking of himself as a lover. And if modern politicians do have personal feelings, these are bound to be without political reference. Does this mean that political plays in our time will have to be expressly and intentionally political? Not necessarily. But I think genuinely political plays can be written only when preceded by a political movement.

Of course there are now on our stage revues which touch sarcastically on contemporary facts, even political facts. I am thinking of *The Premise*, *The Establishment* and *Beyond the Fringe*. But if Vice President Lyndon Johnson can be enthusiastic about *The Premise*, how enthusiastic should we be about that revue's political bite and sarcasm? The Establishment is evidently quite happy about the success of *The Establishment*. And it is a sign of being well within the fringe to be seen at *Beyond the Fringe*. I do not mean that the politically sharp comments in these revues are not to be valued — only that they are without much political effect.

What else is of note—politically —in the theatre? There is Genet's new

Lionel Abel is a playwright and critic whose book, Metatheatre, *is recently published (Hill & Wang). His new play,* The Next Golem, *will be done next season under the direction of Wynn Handman.*



The story of the crusading judge who broke Tammany's stranglehold on New York City and shattered Mayor Walker's career

THE MAN WHO RODE THE TIGER

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF JUDGE SAMUEL SEABURY

by Herbert Mitgang

The fascinating biography, by a member of the *N. Y. Times* editorial staff, of Judge Seabury, whose dedication to good government, as a lawyer and a judge, was climaxed by his inspired investigation of corruption in New York City government – the Seabury investigation that electrified New York and led to the Fusion Administration of Fiorello H. La Guardia.

"Mr. Mitgang has done an astonishing job. Through careful research and clear, crisp writing, he has brought back to life a fascinating episode in the city's history. THE MAN WHO RODE THE TIGER is a worthy tribute to one of New York's greatest citizens."—*N. Y. Times*

Illustrated • At all bookstores $6.95

J. B. LIPPINCOTT COMPANY

Good Books Since 1792

Philadelphia • New York

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

play, *The Screens*, already in English and about to be produced, which treats of the war in Algeria. But this play is anti-political, since Genet's point of view is that the degradation of the Algerian masses can never be redeemed by any kind of political action—even revolutionary action. What about Genet's *The Blacks*? Some insensitive observers have taken this for a political play akin to the kind of expression about the Negro problem we have gotten, and are likely to get for quite a while still, from Mr. James Baldwin. But *The Blacks* is about a black mass—the only real event in it is the ritual killing (symbolic, to be sure) of a woman. Moreover, the blacks in *The Blacks* are only symbolically black—perhaps to Genet this means they are the only real blacks—and though all the parts in the play are acted by Negroes, some wearing white masks, I think those actors not playing the parts of whites should be masked too, for to Genet, black against white means mask against mask. In any case, however enthusiastic about life or about death *The Blacks* may have made Negro audiences feel, it is certainly not a political work.

Probably the last truly political play seen in Europe or in this country was Sartre's *Dirty Hands*, and even that play was only partly political. In what sense? There were two main characters in it, and audiences were at liberty to decide which of the two main characters was the play's real protagonist. Jed Harris, who directed *Dirty Hands* on Broadway, elected for the Communist bureaucrat Hoerderer, casting Charles Boyer for the part. But Jean-Paul Sartre told me that he considered the real hero of the play to be the young bourgeois intellectual, Hugo. In any case, a judgment as to which character in the play is its true protagonist is not imposed by the play's own structure. And there is something else to be noted: Hoerderer, the Communist leader, is presented in political terms, that is to say, in terms of his political role. Hugo, the bourgeois intellectual, is presented in psychological terms, that is to say, in terms of his desire to play a political role. The same kind of dramatic analysis cannot be applied to both characters. Hoerderer is analyzed politically; Hugo is psychoanalyzed. So I should say the play is not thoroughly political, and yet it is unquestionably the closest to a really political play we have seen in almost twenty years.

The explanation, of course, lies in the lack of political movements in recent times of the kind we witnessed during the thirties. However, there have of late been political events that give promise of future effects—political and theatrical. For if there is no labor movement or Socialist movement on the march in this country, there are two new political developments: (1) the peace movement and (2) the movement for Negro liberation, which has expressed itself in the separatist trend of the Black Muslims and in the integrationist trend of the NAACP.

Of these, the Negro movement seems to me to be by all odds the more interesting. The peace movement, as some of its own leaders have admitted, lacks intellectual coherence. If you are concerned about the security of the people of this country, then you have to be worried about the possibility of Russian military superiority. And if you are indeed worried about that, you cannot be part of a peace movement. But if you refuse to be worried about the possibility of Russian military superiority, then how can you honestly represent yourself as being concerned with the security of the people of this country? The peace movement so far has not been able to resolve this contradiction.[1]

The Negro movement for liberation is something else again. The alternatives presented to Negroes by that movement—the separatism advocated by the Black Muslims and the integration drive headed by the NAACP—both have plausibility and interest and force. I can very well understand how difficult it must be for a young Negro to decide under which banner to march. The Muslims have a real appeal when they say: Let's not beg the whites to accept us—let's reject *them!* But one does not see clearly the values in terms of which Negroes could reject whites. Malcolm X has singled out New York's Chinatown as the type of nonintegrated community Negroes should aim at forming. But American Negroes cannot, I think, achieve any separation from American whites comparable to that of the Chinese, who probably never even thought of keeping themselves separate. The Chinese have their language, their customs, their manners, their holidays, their history—the greatness of China—to differentiate them from white Americans. Certainly the Chinese in Chinatown are not held together by hatred of the white race. And what but hatred of the white race could keep Negro communities separate from whites with whom they share the same language, customs, holidays, manners and history? Here, I think, is the weakness of the Muslim movement, and I do not believe it can endure, however strong its present appeal to the dignity and pride of young Negroes who do not want to wait indefinitely for just treatment.

But this is not the place to argue the merits of political tendencies in the Negro movement. My point is rather that both trends are important to dramatization of the American Negro, who in the last few years has taken on the stature of a truly historical figure. What pose will the

[1]Does the fact that the peace movement lacks intellectual coherence mean that it cannot have some inspiration for the dramatist? I think so. For the peace movement presents itself as a movement of reasoned opposition: It is composed in the main of talkative women and not of wild men. Its most distinguished representative, of course, is Mr. Bertrand Russell, who did not have to get himself arrested (protesting American missile bases in Engand) in order to become dramatic. Bertrand Russell always was.

Natural History

If, at the bottom of the sea, the whales arrange
Collectanea of human relics,
Bones all barnacled and the hearts by those slow strange
Deeps coralled in their spiny cases
To show life's prolix range of norms and features
With lightning-eels to shine on the drowned faces
Set, in the brine, in the taut grimaces

Of creatures who enact their inmost natures,
What, then, could the educative sign
In whale-calligraphy on harpoon handle inked
Say but, "This unfinned sport with little spine
Was fierce as froth asnarl on the crest of the surf is.
Habitat: Found only on the surface.
Tried beyond its depths to spout; believed extinct."

Daniel Hoffman

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

American Negro finally assume? This he himself has not yet decided, but it is very important for all of us what that pose will finally be. In any case, the Negro has become a dramatic figure, and there should be more good plays about him.[2]

A playwright recently remarked to me that the only kind of play treating American life which could have a structure not determined by Freudian concepts would have to be a play about race relations. For the issues between Negroes and whites are not Freudian issues — although Freudianized or Reichianized white intellectuals have tried to interpret them as such; cultural psychology is not the same as clinical psychology. There are political and social issues between Negroes and whites which it will take a long time to resolve, and only after these have been resolved would it be even possible to understand Negroes in Freudian, Reichian—or going still further back—in Ibsenian terms. The Ibsenization of the Negro is something which may take place in the future; I do not expect it to happen in our time.

I speak of Ibsen here because the American realistic theatre from O'Neill to Edward Albee was founded and determined by Henrik Ibsen. In fact, I think the American realistic theatre, apparently so dependent on Freudian concepts, would have developed exactly as it did even if Freud had never existed. Ibsen's own plays would have been quite sufficient to make Eugene O'Neill write *The Iceman Cometh*, Arthur Miller *Death of a Salesman* and *A View from the Bridge*, Tennessee Williams *A Streetcar Named Desire* and *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof*, and Edward Albee *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf*? I recently reread *The Wild Duck* and was astonished to see how much that play is determined by concepts I would have thought derived from Freud, except that Freud and his concepts came along a good while after the play. The characteristic emphases of Freud are to be found in Ibsen's masterpiece. There is the shameful fact suppressed in the subconscious of Hjalmar Ekdal; there is the revelation of the shameful fact to him by the idealistic and not too conscious Gregors Werle; and there is the cynical observation of a doctor — Doctor Reller — that it is not always wise to tell suffering people the truth about their sufferings.

The major emphases in *The Wild Duck* are point for point the ones made many years later in *The Iceman Cometh*, and the only superiority in the later work is that O'Neill's dramatic analyst, the salesman Hickey, is more interesting than Ibsen's fatuously high-minded Gregors Werle. If we are inclined to attribute to Freud some measure of influence on O'Neill's work — and there is little doubt that Freudian ideas did influence *Mourning Becomes Electra, Strange Interlude* and *The Iceman Cometh* — I suggest this qualification: if O'Neill was influenced by Freud it was because of Ibsen. Perhaps one could put the matter thus: Ibsen exposed O'Neill to Freud's ideas.

Ibsen had a similar effect on Arthur Miller and on Tennessee Williams. The more interesting case is that of Miller, insofar as this playwright at one time was committed to definite social and political views (I do not know Miller's views at the present time). Yet Miller, even when he was attracted to the political Left, made the dynamic and organizing ideas of his two most famous plays, *Death of a Salesman* and *A View from the Bridge*, not social or political ideas, but psychological notions derived from Freud. Since Miller's plays seem to have social meaning, even though organized on psychological lines, they lack the unity and definiteness of Williams' works, which are frankly psychological, openly Freudian.

But perhaps I should have said that Williams' plays are Ibsenian. For there can be little doubt that Ibsen outlined the fundamental horizon for any kind of drama in which the family unit is the widest collectivity envisaged. Now when a dramatic action is conceived in such terms, psychology is bound to be the privileged method of analysis. And since Ibsen himself did not need Freud to do the very things his successors in the American realistic theatre have done, we are entitled to think that his successors did not really need Freud either. So recent a play as *Virginia Woolf* is fundamentally an Ibsenian play, though perhaps Albee's is a negation, even a caricature, of this kind of play. The widest collectivity envisaged in *Virginia Woolf* is still the family; the only novel thing

[2] I did not see *Fly Blackbird!* when it was playing in New York; but I am told that, in addition to its air of exuberance, it had a social impact far exceeding that of the revues I mentioned above. Its "book" was about a freedom march, and the relevance, not to say hazards, of that form of political protest was undoubtedly what gave the show its bite.

The Materials

poems

by George Oppen

"This book, because of its excellence, and because it bears so directly on the concerns of young poets today, should remind us that the history of our poetry has yet to be written"—Harvey Shapiro, *N. Y. Times Book Review.*

"The precision with which Oppen sets down the images that inform these poems is like the articulation of form in cliff-flowers and shore-growing pines" — William Meredith, *N. Y. Herald Tribune Book Review.*

"Now these clean constructions move me again. They fulfill what he has promised to do with the poetic line, to keep it clean and succinct. He has never varied in his direct approach to the word as the supreme burden of the final poetic image" — William Carlos Williams.

"Oppen is among the handful of craftsmen writing verse in our time . . . The entire book resolves itself into a remarkable achievement in clarity and precision" — Gilbert Sorrentino, *Kulchur.*

"Oppen's lines are as strong and unadorned as steel girders. His constructions with words are as solid as stone or brick"—Dennis Powers, *Oakland Tribune.*

Paperbook Original, $1.25

Published by

New Directions & San Francisco Review

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in Albee's work is that it is not about a real family, but about a couple who have failed to form one.

What Ibsen's plays lack, and what makes them essentially nonpolitical and ultimately middle class, is something that has been called "the consciousness of the forum." This kind of consciousness, which presupposes a wider collective unit than the family, has to be expressed in any truly political play; moreover, this kind of consciousness cannot be analyzed in Freudian or psychological terms. And it is this "consciousness of the forum" which society now lacks; it was supposed to be supplied in our time by the proletariat. Nowadays, members of the proletariat are very probably in the process of being psychoanalyzed. But a "consciousness of the forum" is surely present among the American Negroes; it is imposed upon them by their situation. Even if American Negroes would prefer to understand their feelings in terms of psychoanalytical — I almost said bourgeois — notions, I think history will not permit them such a luxury. They have to think — and are thinking, in fact — in much more political terms. The Negroes have to act upon the whites and on themselves, and this is something quite different from going to a doctor to be cured of one's irrational drives. While American whites have been lying on the couch, American Negroes have been asked by history — theirs and ours — to stand up.

A different kind of play from the Ibsen play is now possible to American dramatists, even to those who would like to deal with American life realistically. The kind of play I have in mind will be concerned with the actions taking place among American whites and blacks in the North and in the South. And let no one think it a small matter to be able to escape the influence of Ibsen in writing a realistic play. Consider that when so modernistic a playwright as Jean Cocteau wanted to write a play about a real family, he wrote, despite his insistence on "poetry of the theatre," and all the tricks of *avant-gardism*, what is an Ibsen play, *Les Parents Terribles* (*Intimate Relations*), which happens to be his best work.

But if it is almost impossible to get away from the Ibsen form when you are dealing as a dramatist with the family, very different forms become possible as soon as a wider social unit is envisaged. Chekhov's plays are different from Ibsen's, not merely because of the very different sensibilities of the two dramatists, but also because of the Russian playwright's special concern for the fate of the Russian intelligentsia and of the Russian aristocracy; these groups could not be represented in tightly knit structures like the plays of Ibsen. Inspired by the progressive and radical politics of the thirties, Clifford Odets found a model in Chekhov's plays, and was able to dramatize conflicts wider than those immediately felt within the family. Odets' *Awake and Sing* owes as much to Chekhov's *Ivanov* as O'Neill, Miller, Williams and Albee owe to *The Wild Duck*.

My claim is that the existing movement for Negro liberation has again made political plays possible; moreover, these possible plays might have some form other than the Ibsenian plays with which we are only too familiar. Now this is an interesting fact indeed. Some years back there were many Negro writers — James Baldwin was one of them — who resented the claim made on them by Negroes to use their literary talents in propagandizing for Negro rights. I think I understand why Negro writers resisted this claim on them; they felt it as limiting the kind of art they wanted to produce. But at the time I am speaking of there was not in evidence any new artistic possibility in the dramatization of Negro problems. What is new in the present situation, as a result of what Negroes have achieved in the North and in the South, is that the individual Negro, representing his fellows, has become dramatic, a historical figure.

By one of those unexpected ironies of history (which keeps it, by the way, from becoming uninteresting) the American Negro has suddenly acquired some of the characteristics — and value to the dramatist — of the sixteenth-century European king. Almost everything Negroes do or want to do, even the irrational things, have political meaning today. If a Negro falls in love with a white girl, politics is there; if a Negro elects to believe in Allah rather than in Christ, politics is present, possibly of a very drastic kind; when Mr. Meredith decided that he wanted to be educated at the University of Mississippi, we almost had a television rerun of the Civil War; two men are dead already, and no one knows what the consequences of Meredith's deciding to be educated at a very poor school are finally going to be. Practically everything Negroes do will have political meaning, and possibly grave consequences. For this reason alone Negroes cannot fail to be interesting now to sensitive dramatists, white or black.

Poets Without Prophecy

Hayden Carruth

Beginning with whom? — not Eliot — with Arnold perhaps? — well, beginning rather long ago the meaning of the words *poem* and *poet* shifted finally from a matter of substance to a matter of technique. Today we can find vestiges of that older way of speaking. In the country where I live people still say, "Oh, that's poetry," when you tell them a lie; and I suppose somewhere people may still exclaim, upon seeing a sunset, "How poetic!" We do not say these things. We consider them offensive. For us a poem is a work of art, a composition of verbal materials, a thing, and the poet is the maker who makes it.

I don't want to suggest that we are wrong; certainly I don't want to excuse the sentimentality and unctuousness which were the end products of the old view. But I would like to point out that these end products were a long time in coming — centuries, in fact — and that there distinctly was something grand and ennobling in the idea that a poet was to be known not by his art but by his vision; something more than grand and ennobling, something essential. And we have lost it.

I don't know what to call it, precisely. It's hard to move back into that area of old custom without falling prey to the soft, foolish terms it spawned so readily toward its close. But let's extend to one another the charity of understanding and agree on an acknowledged orotundity: the "larger vision of humanity." Once the poet was our spokesman and not our oracle, our advocate and not our secret agent, or at least he was as much the one

Hayden Carruth's poetry has been collected in several volumes, most recently in The Norfolk Poems (*Prairie Press*) *and* Journey to a Known Place (*New Directions*). *He has completed a novel for publication by Macmillan and is at work on a book about Camus under a Bollingen grant.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as the other; and if he did not speak for us, all of us, fully and warmly, if his poems lacked the larger vision of humanity, we said he was deficient in one of the qualities that, virtually by definition, make a poet.

This attitude survived among the older poets of our time, though their own theories about poetry tended to suppress it; the larger vision of humanity was still a part of their poetic instinct. The *Cantos*, *The Waste Land* and *Paterson* are alive with it; Frost's poems reveal an unmistakably general feeling; so do the poems of Cummings, Aiken, Ransom; Stevens veiled his concern under his marvelous verbal texture and his epistemological preoccupations, but it was there, especially in the later poems where a sense of brooding pity underlies almost every word. Even Marianne Moore, whose works have never appealed to me, conveys a kind of coy consciousness of sodality in her least timid poems. The point is that all these poets came into the world at a time when the poet's direct responsibility to mankind at large still hadn't quite been laughed completely out of existence. They themselves, however, were the ones who set off the final burst of laughter when, in order to discredit the impressionistic views of the previous age, they directed attention away from the representative role of the poet and toward his work as experimentalist, hierophant, artifex, oneirocritic or what have you.

It should be clear that my subject is poetry and politics, though I have chosen to work my way into it by means of concepts which show political feeling as what it really is, rather than as mere partisanship.

Next came the thirties, the time when poetry was avowedly, explicitly political, the time of MacLeish, Muriel Rukeyser, Alfred Hayes and the British Socialists, the time equally of the Southern Agrarians. I myself find this poetry refreshing to read today, especially the radical poetry; its motives and objectives were so forceful that often a kind of vividness was the result, against which our own verse, striving for greater richness, seems muddy. I wonder if we aren't ready for a revival of interest in proletarian writing, similar to the Jazz Age revival which occurred a few years back. Serious attention is being given again to John Steinbeck, thanks to his Nobel Prize, and that is to the good. Others also deserve reconsideration. I nominate Malcolm Cowley. Nowadays we seldom think of him as a poet; but a number of the poems in his two small books (*Blue Juniata*, 1929, and *The Dry Season*, 1941) are good indeed, and some enterprising publisher ought to bring out a selection of them.

At the same time, one cannot escape seeing that the larger vision of humanity became more specialized in the poetry of the thirties, narrowed and reduced, and that this constriction grew even tighter in our poetry of the war. We had some fine war poems, things like Eberhart's "Fury of Aerial Bombardment" and Jarrell's "Death of the Ball Turret Gunner"; they have become, with justice, standard anthology pieces. Yet if we compare them with the poems of the First World War, we see a great difference. In the poems of Wilfred Owen, for instance, or even in such a high-wrought work as David Jones's *In Parenthesis*, the larger vision is instinct in every word, and very profoundly expressed in some; but Jarrell's gunner, whose remains are washed out of his turret with a hose, is a far more specialized figure. He does not live in our minds as a fully realizable exponent of our suffering as such. This isn't Jarrell's fault. He is a splendid poet, and the reason for his narrowed sensibility (which, in this case at least, I don't think he desired at all) lies in the cultural evolution of the century. There had been an attrition of poetic consciousness. Far too complicated a topic to be easily scrutinized; yet I think we can all see the difference between Owen and Jarrell, and I think most of us can believe that it is connected with the increasing refinement of the poet as a self-appointed agent of sensibility in an insensible and ever more hostile society.

Since then this erosion of the larger view has reached a point where poetry has become almost totally apolitical. The supreme political fact of our lives is the atomic bomb. Am I wrong? It is enormous; it occupies the whole world. Speaking for myself, I have been living in fear of it for fifteen years, fear that it will go off and kill me and my family, or render our lives so intolerable that we won't wish to go on. Maybe I am a greater coward than most people; I believe there actually are some Americans who never think about the bomb. But poets? That would be incredible. No matter how hard they try, they can't escape being included among society's most percipient members. Yet if one were to judge by their output, one

MAN AGAINST MYTH
By Barrows Dunham

"You can't change human nature." "Every question has two sides." "The rich are fit and the poor unfit." These are some of the myths which Barrows Dunham exposes to fatal light. With elegance, humor, and incisive logic he shows how these and other false ideas have been used to enslave the minds of men and prevent social change. "An instructive, amusing and courageous book."—*Albert Einstein* Paper $1.95

THE DISINHERITED
By Jack Conroy
Introduction by Daniel Aaron

Perhaps the most powerful of all the proletarian novels of the '30's. "It is Conroy's Defoelike veracity that makes *The Disinherited* so solid and convincing."—*Daniel Aaron* Paper $1.95

THE WORLD OF LINCOLN STEFFENS
Edited by Ella Winter and Herbert Shapiro
Introduction by Barrows Dunham

An anthology containing so much previously uncollected material that it is virtually a new book by Steffens. He speaks his mind on Mexico, Russia, the Bible, fatherhood, and other subjects. Includes the penetrating allegorical study of revolutions, *Moses in Red.*
Cloth $4.95; paper $2.45

MARK TWAIN ON THE DAMNED HUMAN RACE
Edited and with an Introduction by Janet Smith
Preface by Maxwell Geismar

Angry, and often hilarious, pieces which show Mark Twain as a satirist and bitter critic of social injustice. Cloth $4.95; paper $2.25

SOMETHING IN COMMON
And Other Stories
by Langston Hughes

Thirty-seven short stories—eleven of which appear in a book for the first time—chosen by Langston Hughes to present a cross section of his work as a short story writer.
Cloth $3.95; paper $1.75

At all bookstores, or order directly from
HILL & WANG
141 Fifth Ave., New York 10, N. Y.
Paperback circular on request
Publishers of Dramabooks and American Century Series

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

would have to believe that poets are the least concerned people in the world, not only on their own account but on everyone's.

Poetry, under the editorship of Henry Rago, is as representative of the various groups among American poets as any single magazine could probably be. I have just gone through all the issues for 1961, the only recent year for which I could find a complete set on my shelves. The year produced 335 poems by 139 poets; and although I skimmed through them rapidly, it has still taken me several hours to make up a count — I didn't go so quickly that my figures are likely to be off by more than a little. In the whole year I found two explicit references to the bomb, one a passing serio-comic remark, and ten poems on the general theme of suffering in war, two of which were translations from foreign poets of an earlier time. There were a great many poems on sex in its various aspects; religion; growing old; being young; thought and feeling; the uses of knowledge; themes unintelligible to me; and painting, music and poetry.

That's it, of course; that last — poetry. The only subject poets will admit. Time after time they say so. Robert Creeley, one of the very best poets alive, asserts his fealty to "the poem supreme, addressed to/emptiness. . . ." At the other end of the country, Howard Nemerov, a fine academic poet, speaks of himself as

Dreaming preposterous mergers and divisions
Of vowels like water, consonants like rock
(While everybody kept discussing values
And the need for values), for words that would
Enter the silence and be there as a light.

And I believe you could find statements of this precise credo — belief in the poem as an isolated act of absolute and purely intrinsic goodness —in 90 per cent of the books published by American poets in the past ten or fifteen years. There are a couple in my own.

Not spokesmen then. But hermits, lone wolves, acolytes—building poems in the wilderness for their own salvation.

The poets will retort in two ways. First they will say that art has always been lonely work, that the artist must use his own experience, and that ultimately he must put together his vision of reality—or, as some would say, discover it—within himself. This is self-evident; but it does not require the poet to withdraw himself so far from the general experience of his time that he becomes merely a specialist pursuing specialized ends. In fact, it ought to mean just the opposite: that the poet, within himself, identifies and strengthens the general experience in such a way that it will excite a renewed susceptibility in everyone else.

Second, the poets will say that their isolated poems are acts of an implied political significance. They will say that by refining their own purity as artists and by rejecting the false values of the world, they are expressing a political attitude of considerable importance and firmness, and are doing so in terms more durable than could be used in direct statements about immediate political objectives. In the past I have said this myself, and I do not think it is sophistry. But it comes close to it. Politics is practicality, and a political act is by nature an act committed in the context of immediate objectives. And isn't the "context of immediate objectives" simply a jargonistic equivalent of the "larger vision of humanity"? This context still exists, I grant you, in the very remote background of today's estranged poetry; but when the correlation between the output of *Poetry* magazine and the leading headlines of, for example, the *Times* is as disparate as my little tabulation for 1961 indicates, then the context has receded so far that it no longer furnishes a useful field of reference to most of the people who read the poetry.

This is the point. The larger vision has been turned over to the newspapers, to the so-called industry of so-called mass communications. I imagine there's not a single reporter covering the discussions at Geneva for whom the larger vision isn't so fully, consistently present that he must drink himself or weep himself to sleep every night. But poetry is not his job; and if he is a good reporter he knows this and steers clear of it.

The beats are the exception to what I have been saying. At least so they seem at first, though I wonder if they aren't simply the other side of the coin. I mean the hard core of poets who still flourish their beat credentials. Among them we find explicitly political poems in great number, poems designed to incite impeachments, riots, revolutions, etc. To my mind they fail. The best of these poets is Gregory Corso, an exceedingly talented poet who has written perhaps two dozen really good poems; and that is an accomplishment to make anyone envious. But all these good poems are nonpolitical, most are apolitical, and the best are not particularly beat. His most popular poem is a diatribe called "The Bomb," but for me it seems only a long composition made up partly of rant and shapeless anger and partly of attempts to exorcize the bomb in the name of some numinous human essence; it turns politics into a sort of gang war supervised by the old ladies from the settlement house. In short, it contains no poetry, no single realized image to which our thought and feeling can cling. In this respect, i.e., the reintroduction of poetry to politics, it seems to me that the beats, whom we all hoped (some of us secretly) would succeed, have failed almost completely, and what success they have had has been on the wrong level.

Poets are never liberals or conservatives, they are always radicals or reactionaries; and today, of course, public life rejects these extremes. True, the far Right has worked up something resembling a movement in recent years, but it remains intellectually disreputable. On the Left, in spite of sporadic efforts in New York and California, those of us who are born anarchists have to agree there isn't much doing. In other words the political attitudes usually endorsed by poets are now amorphous, disintegrated, without programs. Yet this ought to be exactly the political condition in which poets can flourish and in which politically directed poems — I mean poems in the completest sense — can be written without becoming debased by doctrinaire points of view. I cannot speak for reaction; but it is hard for me to believe that any radical poet in the country today lacks a point on which he can stand firm, a point from which, as the spokesman of all of us, he can attack known injustices and stupidities. Isn't the bomb, our monstrous, inescapable, political absurdity, the place to begin? And why then isn't it happening?

Théophile Gautier, while discussing his fellow writers, said: "To be of one's own time — nothing seems easier and nothing is more difficult. One can go straight through one's age without seeing it, and this is what has happened to many eminent minds."

Yes, of our time too. We poets have gone straight through fifteen years without seeing them. One can think

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of a hundred reasons: the extraordinary burden of the poetry of our immediate past, the long evolution of formal interests, the sociology of the culture hero; but none of these, or even all together, can suffice against the bomb, none can explain two poems out of 335. I think American poetry, to speak of only that element of our civilization, is stupefied by a massive neurosis — terror, suppression, spasmodic hysteria — and I cannot conceive of a therapy ingenious enough to cure it.

Law and Justice

SOCIAL JUSTICE. Edited by Richard Brandt. Prentice-Hall. 171 pp. $1.95 paper.

JURISPRUDENCE. By Edgar Bodenheimer. Harvard University Press. 402 pp. $8.75.

LIBERTY. Edited by Carl J. Friedrich. Atherton Press. 333 pp. $6.

THE PUBLIC INTEREST. Edited by Carl J. Friedrich. Atherton Press. 256 pp. $6.

THE CONCEPT OF LAW. By Herbert L. A. Hart. Oxford University Press. 263 pp. $4.25.

JURISPRUDENCE. By Karl N. Llewellyn. University of Chicago Press. 531 pp. $8.95.

JUSTICE AND SOCIAL POLICY. Edited by Frederick A. Olafson. Prentice-Hall. 150 pp. $1.95 paper.

Hugo Bedau

In a much-publicized interview released last December by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Edward Bennett Williams drew attention, among other things, to the way in which the legal profession has neglected to emphasize training for law students in advocacy and the criminal law. Hardly anyone seems to have noticed that the same Center report raised another serious question: whether "jurisprudence is being neglected in the curriculum of our law schools in favor of an emphasis on the technical preparation of law students." The reply given by Bethuel M. Webster, an eminent member of the New York bar, is a masterpiece of nonjoinder of issues. In a reassuring tone, he said that jurisprudence, being "the study of the history, nature and science of law," requires men like Harvard's Dean Roscoe Pound to do it justice; that such men are rare, that the subject is nevertheless taught in all major law schools, and that the legal profession is trying to set up institutes at the law schools on "basic problems involving social and ethical considerations."

What Mr. Webster really said is that jurisprudence is in trouble. Whatever may once have been true, few American law schools and law teachers now expect their students to take a stiff dose of the subject. Jurisprudence is at the bottom of the list of priorities in legal education principally because, if it is construed as an epitome of legal thought and methods, it not only takes a Poundian breadth of mind to teach it, but also does not lend itself to condensation for a semester's study. Yet if the subject is construed in the other usual way, as the philosophy of legal concepts and theories, it arouses the distrust of most lawyers who, being members of an eminently practical profession, see little use in the mere play of ideas.

The uneasy status of jurisprudence is but one symptom of the attitude among academics and intellectuals generally toward serious study of the concepts which lie in the intersection of philosophy, law and politics—and which, not being the peculiar subject matter of any, tend to be ignored by all. Yet to list these concepts is to assemble the perennial categories in terms of which our civilization has framed its fundamental social and political ideals for several centuries: Law and Order, Justice, Human Rights, Freedom, Equality, Common Good, Loyalty. The study of these concepts once claimed the best efforts of European thinkers, but except for John Dewey, and he is not as large an exception as one might think, none of the major philosophers of this century—Russell, Whitehead, Santayana, Moore, Carnap, Wittgenstein, Jaspers, Heidegger, Sartre—has had anything sustained to say on topics proper to the philosophy of law.

I have, I admit, somewhat exaggerated the predicament in recent years of studies in jurisprudence and social philosophy, especially in the de-

Hugo Bedau, associate professor of philosophy at Reed College, is completing for Prentice-Hall publication Pragmatism in Ethics, Politics and Law: John Dewey. *A second book, on capital punishment, will be published in 1964.*

". . . a treasure-house of images and ideas. It can serve to energize and enrich whatever work one is doing: dancing, painting, writing, living."– MARTHA GRAHAM

THE INNER WORLD OF CHOICE
Frances G. Wickes

This new book, by the noted analyst and author of THE INNER WORLD OF CHILDHOOD, is a light piercing the shadows of inner confusion and conflict. To read it is to start the long journey out of darkness, to find at last a way to the definitive choice in life: whether to remain a mirror of one's environment, of outer circumstances – or to break through these and find authentic, creative selfhood.

Dedicated to C. G. Jung and written at his request, Mrs. Wickes' book is perhaps the clearest, most perceptive account of the implications of Jung's psychology for understanding the self and its relation to the world.

$5.00 at your bookstore
HARPER & ROW, *Publishers*

RUSSIAN LITERATURE
Translated into English
Art • Science • Fiction
Philosophy • Economics
Maps, records, classic and contemporary literature. Russian language study courses: elementary, intermediate and advanced. Dictionaries. Children's books. Arts and Crafts. Subs. to magazines accepted for 1963.
Write for Catalog
STORE HOURS: Open Mon. thru Sat. 9 to 6 P.M. Thurs. to 7 P.M.
Phone CH 2-4500
Four Continent Book Corp.
Dept. 165, 156 Fifth Ave., N.Y. 10

Authors!
Your book can be published, promoted, distributed by successful, reliable company. Fiction, non-fiction, poetry, scholarly, religious and even controversial manuscripts welcomed. Free Editorial Report. For Free Booklet write Vantage Press, Dept. 103, 120 W. 31 St., New York 1.

HOW TO PUBLISH YOUR BOOK
Join our successful authors in a complete and reliable publishing program: publicity, advertising, handsome books. Speedy, efficient service. Send for FREE manuscript report & copy of Publish Your Book.
CARLTON PRESS Dept. NND
84 Fifth Ave., New York 11, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gree to which the recent past has shown a trend contrary to earlier centuries. Nevertheless, within the last couple of years, so much serious writing has suddenly appeared on these subjects that one can hardly help viewing it as a striking revival of interest in matters which not so long ago went begging for attention.

It would be too much to try to undertake a full sketch of these developments and their background. Certainly, one noteworthy event was the formation in 1955 of the American Society of Political and Legal Philosophy. In each of the past seven years, it has held an annual conference devoted to exploring one important topic in this area. Out of each conference has grown a collection of special studies subsequently published in *Nomos*, the society's yearbook. The latest volumes are *Liberty* and *The Public Interest*. Later this year, *Justice* will appear, to be followed next year by *Rational Decision* and by *Revolution* in 1965.

Another stimulus was the centennial of John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty* (1859). Besides the volume of *Nomos* already mentioned, we now have not only the historical essays of Oscar and Mary Handlin and by Herbert J. Muller, but also the more ambitious philosophical investigations of freedom by Mortimer Adler (in two fat volumes), Christian Bay, F. A. Hayek and Felix Oppenheim. Paperback book publishers have also discovered a ready market, not only for reprints of classics, but also for several recent essays in social philosophy, so much so that it is now possible to teach the subject in ways practically impossible even three years ago. The recent publications, therefore, by Edgar Bodenheimer and Karl Llewellyn on jurisprudence and by Herbert Hart on the nature of law can be viewed as further evidence of interest in what was only recently a moribund area of scholarship.

Edgar Bodenheimer's *Jurisprudence* (he is on the faculty of the University of Utah Law School), I regret to say, will not contribute much toward improving the status which his subject has had of late. A bit less than half the book he devotes to the usual historical matter, taking the reader from Plato to Pound in 150 pages. In its scholarship, it invites unfavorable comparison with Julius Stone's sprawling but valuable *Province and Function of Law* (1946). I have carefully studied only Bodenheimer's discussions of the Utilitarian and Positivistic traditions in legal philosophy, and I must say he has not contributed toward understanding either the genius or the shortcomings of these schools. Sometimes his argument is marred merely by an annoying slip, as when he makes David Hume into an Englishman. More often, it is obscured by a clumsy style or faulty analysis, as when he asserts that according to Positivists, "A careful observation of empirical facts and sense data was one of the principal methods used in the natural sciences." He also has a weakness for second-rate sources and inappropriate citations. How else explain his choice of Rousseau to lend weight to his view that "the object of the law is general," as though this were controversial or originally, essentially or peculiarly Rousseauian, instead of being the commonplace that it is?

Nor is the remainder of the book systematic and original enough to warrant praise for it as a serious contribution to the philosophy of law and jurisprudential thinking. All too well it illustrates the accuracy of Hart's comment that the trouble with books on legal theory is that too many of them are "books from which one learns what other books contain." I have been severe in my comments on this volume, but not, I think, unfair. Bodenheimer has written a compact, up-to-date and comprehensive survey, both historical and systematic, of jurisprudential thought. Nor is it so grave or uncommon a fault that his book is no better than it is. As Llewellyn shows in his appraisal of Dean Pound's latest multi-volume study of jurisprudence, not even the acknowledged giants are always able to produce the results we might have expected of them and which the subject deserves.

In pleasant contrast, *Jurisprudence*, by the late Karl Llewellyn, one of America's most influential legal thinkers and a teacher of countless lawyers at Columbia and Chicago law schools, is a stimulating and valuable book. Although many of these essays are thirty years old, they have lost none of their sparkle. The volume is appropriately subtitled, "Realism in Theory and Practice," and all of the essays, several of them classic manifestoes, show Llewellyn's overriding concern with the point of view which he, with the late Jerome Frank and several others, created and propagated, and which is known in the textbooks as American Legal Realism.

Llewellyn's realistic jurisprudence is, in his own phrase, craft-centered. "The heart and core of Jurisprudence," he says in commenting on Pound, "ought to be . . . right guidance to the judge —or to the legislator—or to the administrator." In a latter context, he adds, "Jurisprudence as a Philosophy of Law is . . . a philosophy *not only* of Law, *but also* of Law's Function, *and* of Legal Institutions: *i.e.*, of Law *and* Law's Work, *and* Law's Personnel." He has no patience with what he calls "the majestic categories of the romantic period of jurisprudence"

Walking Around

Having arrived by the same door
I left, I left again.
I knew my reasons by heart,
And never lost track of where I was going.

To leave and arrive, arrive and leave
Was all I had in mind.
My drives were simple enough —
I walked for the sake of walking around.

The windy sum of my own motion,
I marvelled at myself
In passing. I kept in step
With what I was. Oh, I was dashing,

Or thought I was, until I saw
The distance I had to go
And began somehow to suspect
That my past was catching up with me.

I hurried, not wishing to see myself
Leave before I arrived
As, sometimes in my haste
To get back, I have felt myself try.

Mark Strand

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(by which I take him to mean concepts such as those I listed some paragraphs back; it would be interesting to know how much the success of Realism during the past generation accounts for the neglect into which jurisprudence and social philosophy have fallen).

Llewellyn's pages, with their urgency (the italics and capitals in the above are quite typical) and unmistakably native American prose (as native in style as in substance, growing as it did out of Holmes, Brandeis, Pound and especially Dewey), will take the outsider into the Realist's attitude of mind more thoroughly than anything else I know. This is partly because and partly in spite of Llewellyn's notion of Realism as a "sociological jurisprudence," according to which law would become a genuine social science.

From a philosophical point of view, what is usually believed to underlie this outlook on the law is the familiar instrumentalist's (operationalist's, pragmatist's) doctrine that legal terms, standards, principles, and thus the law itself are said to *mean*, and in that sense to *be*, always and only the discernible *effects* their employment has had on lawyers, judges, administrators, legislators and citizens, in their official contacts with one another; and that these effects are to be appraised by reference to the interests and settled purposes of men which they are believed to serve. I am not sure that this really is Llewellyn's fundamental perspective on sociological jurisprudence.

For one thing, nowhere in this book does he try to formulate or defend Realism as the theory in analytical jurisprudence that if you want to know what a legal term *means*, look at what the courts do in its name. Instead, his actual practice suggests that Realism is primarily an attitude from which to pursue legal studies, viz., if you want to know what the law is, look at what courts do and why—which will rarely be found in what the courts say. These two versions of Realism are quite distinct, and the latter is immune to criticisms which invalidate the former. Whether because Llewellyn wanted to defend both versions, or because he overlooked the distinction, he never seems to have formulated his position on the point. Looking back now, it is difficult to imagine why anyone except a doctrinaire instrumentalist would have wanted to deny Realism in the latter sense or to defend it in the former.

Herbert Hart, Professor of Jurisprudence at Oxford and occasionally a visiting lecturer at American law schools (Harvard in 1956, U.C.L.A. in 1962), has not attempted to describe or defend any kind or school of jurisprudence, analytical or sociological, general or philosophical, in *The Concept of Law*. Instead, he has offered us that rarer thing, a systematic rethinking of what a legal system is and of the sources of the standing perplexities over the nature of law. If one were to judge from nothing more than the seriousness with which it is being taken by reviewers in the leading professional journals, *The Concept of Law* would have to be regarded as the most significant book in the philosophy of law to appear in several decades.

The conception of a legal system which Hart develops is consciously offered as a revision of the theory descending from the modern founder of analytic jurisprudence, John Austin, who sat at Jeremy Bentham's feet and with the Mills propagated the Utilitarian philosophy of a century ago. According to Austin, the foundation of a legal system is the habitual obedience which a social group (body politic) gives to orders (laws) backed by threats (sanctions) issued by some person or persons who themselves obey no one (the sovereign). Many objections to this doctrine have emerged during the past century, and neither Bodenheimer nor Llewellyn has anything complimentary to say for it. Yet the most instructive criticism is often overlooked. Hart makes it the cornerstone of his own theory.

The Austinian theory of law destroys the fundamental difference between a man's being *obliged* to do something and a man's being *obligated* to do something. On Austin's system, political obligation is indistinguishable from political compulsion. Yet this distinction is firmly embedded both in common sense and ordinary language (contrast "I am obliged to" with "I have an obligation to"), and according to Hart, it is needed to account for the fact that the "primary" legal rules, those which impose duties on us, have an *authority* which sanction alone could never provide for them.

What is required in order to account for this authority of duty-imposing rules is a "rule of recognition," as Hart calls it, whereby a society expressly recognizes some proper way of deciding what are and what are

The Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY
Johnson City, Tennessee
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SEVEN

Exciting New Titles from International Publishers

A STAR TO STEER BY by Hugh Mulzac, Captain of the "Booker T. Washington," as told to Louis Burnham and Norval Welch

The first Negro to win a master's license tells of his 24-year uphill battle to the bridge of that almost legendary Liberty ship, the "Booker T. Washington."

New World Paperback $1.85; Cloth $5.00

THE ALDERSON STORY: My Life as a Political Prisoner by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn

"Alderson" is the Federal Women's Reformatory. Following a Smith Act conviction because of her political beliefs, the author "resided" there for 28 months. Here is seething, explosive life behind a peaceful façade, including Miss Flynn's "Prison Poems."

New World Paperback $1.65; Cloth $5.00

PROBLEMS OF CONTEMPORARY HISTORY by R. Palme Dutt

Tests the viewpoint that on the basis of Marxist theory it is possible to reach an objective judgment on current events which can more adequately stand the test of time.

New World Paperback $1.25

READER IN MARXIST PHILOSOPHY, Howard Selsam and Harry Martel, Eds.

Provides for the first time in one volume philosophical selections from the works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin; presenting the Marxist world outlook as given by the exponents themselves.

New World Paperback $2.45; Cloth $5.50

JOHN BROWN by W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

First published in 1909 and reissued for the Emancipation Proclamation Centennial, here is a passionate defense of John Brown, maintaining the Civil War's first shot was fired at Harper's Ferry.

New World Paperback $2.25; Cloth $5.50

MILITARISM AND INDUSTRY: Arms Profiteering in the Missile Age by Victor Perlo

Lists the major U.S. industries profiting so enormously from the arms race; statistically shows how large sectors of industry could gain from disarmament.

New World Paperback $1.65; Cloth $3.75

MALTHUS: Selections from Marx and Engels, Ronald L. Meek, Ed.

Malthusian doctrines on population and economic theory; their relation to Darwinism.

New World Paperback, $1.85; Cloth $4.00

From your bookshop or direct from

INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS
381 Park Avenue South
New York 16, N.Y.

not its legal obligations. In a system such as our own, the rule of recognition is enormously complex, being provided by the federal Constitution and its creatures, the legislative, executive and judicial branches of the government, plus the analogous charters covering the lesser political units in which we also live (state, municipality). Yet this fundamental rule is only one of many "secondary rules" in every legal system, whose function is not to impose duties but to "confer powers" on private or public persons. Thus, Hart is led to assert as the central thesis of his book, that "so many of the distinctive operations of the law, and so many of the ideas which constitute the framework of legal thought, require for their elucidation reference to one or both of these types of rule, that their union may be justly regarded as the 'essence' of law. . . ."

Such a theory is not impervious to criticism. It remains to be seen, in particular, whether Hart's emphasis on the distinction between primary and secondary legal rules, which he describes (in Austin's phrase) as " 'the key to the science of jurisprudence' " and as "a most powerful tool for the analysis of much that has puzzled both the jurist and the political theorist," does not itself blur certain distinctions. Contrast, e.g., the laws in terms of which persons may marry one another, and the laws which control passage of appropriation bills in Congress. It is hard to see why Hart thinks it is both illuminating and true to place such laws in the common category of "secondary" rules. They seem to have nothing in common except the negative fact of not imposing duties on anyone subject to them. Thus, it is possible that in its own way Hart's theory may be as restrictive as the Austinian doctrine it was designed to replace.

The nature of law and of a legal system is not, of course, the sole topic proper and primary to jurisprudence. "Jurisprudence," Justinian wrote some fifteen centuries ago, "is the knowledge of things divine and human, the science of the just and the unjust." Perhaps it should be a commonplace among students of jurisprudence to insist upon incorporating the concept of justice into their theory of law, but it isn't. Several years before Khrushchev's memorable performance with his fists on the desks of the General Assembly at the United Nations, a Danish philosopher of law, Alf Ross, declared: "To invoke justice is the same thing as banging on the table." This may be only a misleading way of pointing out what Llewellyn put quite accurately when he wrote, "When a lawyer openly argues 'Justice' as a major argument, instead of arguing law first and justice as showing what the 'true' rule or principle or application of the law must seem to be, then that lawyer is practically advising the court either that he has not thought the law of his case out and made clear its bearings on his case, and so ought not to be seriously listened to; or else he is advising the court that his case really falls outside what is proper for a court to remedy." Ross's extravagance is also, however, one of the vestiges from the thirties, when Logical Positivists contrived arguments in wholesale lots to prove that "good," "right," "duty" and other characteristic ethical terms were beyond the reach of reason and experience and instead were wholly creatures of emotion, attitude and feeling.

Philosophical investigations during the past decade have gone a long way toward destroying these illusions. Yet, as Richard Brandt, moral philosopher at Swarthmore, says in his preface to *Social Justice*, "The philosophical revolution of the last decades has touched the concept of social justice only lightly." This book will surely help to remedy the situation for the future. Whether one is interested in the economic, legal, political or purely philosophical aspects of social justice, there is an essay in this volume for him written by a recognized authority (Kenneth Boulding and William Frankena of Michigan, Paul Freund of Harvard, Alan Gewirth of Chicago, and Gregory Vlastos of Princeton). Although the book is no treatise, none of its contents has been published elsewhere before, and taken as a whole, it is certainly the most valuable exploration of the problems of justice since Henry Sidgwick's *Methods of Ethics* some fifty years ago (the essence of which, along with several important recent essays, has been reprinted in Fred Olafson's collection, *Justice and Social Policy*).

It is odd, though, that Brandt should have declared, "The one point of agreement among contemporary thinkers seems to be that equality and justice have a close relation." If we may judge from the remarks of our three jurisprudentialists and the five contributors to *Social Justice*, there are several other points on which there seems to be agreement. For instance, all these writers seem to agree that there are just inequalities*; that justice, as Frankena says, is not "the only feature of an ideal society"; and that justice and these other social ideals perhaps cannot be consistently maximized.

Agreement on these questions does

*An illustration of this is given by Irving Kristol who, in a recent issue of *The New Leader*, pleads that the postal authorities give differential treatment to the "little magazines."

Lunch Hour

Her underarms
Clean as washbasins,
Her folds of fat resting
On layers of talcum-powdered flesh,
She proceeds towards cream-cheese-on-white,
Jelly pie, gum brownies, chocolate bars,
Rinsed down by tumblers of fresh milk,

Past the Trinity Graveyard
Filled with green and creepy plants,
Shiny-necked birds waddling about,
Monuments three-humped like children playing ghost,
Blackstone slabs wracked with dates and elegies,

Towards which,
In the dark of the wide skirt,
First left then right,
Like a political campaigner pulling out of a station,
Her heavy rear rolls out its half-smiles of farewell,

While the face wheezes for grub,
And sweat skips and splashes from hummock down to hummock
And inconceivable love clasps the fat of life to its pain.

Galway Kinnell

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

not signify a great deal. Considerable disagreement on other fundamental aspects of justice, both theoretical and practical, is fully consistent with unanimity on all the above points. Yet if one makes the effort to understand how agreement is obtained on even these four characteristics of our concept of social justice—that is on the kind of arguments which seem to show conclusively that justice, equality, law and other social ideals are related in the above manner—one will at least become convinced that there is more to justice than banging on the table.

There is, then, reason for optimism that studies in jurisprudence in particular and social philosophy in general may be entering upon a more fruitful decade. This is of importance not only to academics but to the community at large. Intellectual perplexities over the categories of social philosophy do not account, of course, for the slow rate at which our society adopts reforms long overdue. This is too obviously a result of our other shortcomings, notably unfairness and selfishness on a massive scale. But these perplexities do show residual confusions in our ideals, which cannot help but create uncertainties about which policies will in fact take us where we want to go.

The Cold Crusade

THE ORDEAL OF POWER. By Emmet John Hughes. Atheneum Publishers. 372 pp. $5.95.

FIRSTHAND REPORT. By Sherman Adams. Harper & Row. 481 pp. $5.95.

CROSS FIRE. By Ezra Taft Benson. Doubleday & Co. 627 pp. $6.95.

Alan Rosenthal

Note-takers and diarists of the Eisenhower years have recently begun to produce their political memoirs for posterity. In quantity or quality, pickings have been rather lean, and for this reason among others Emmet Hughes's *The Ordeal of Power* is particularly welcome.

An outsider—by political conviction a New Deal Democrat amid conservative Republicans — Hughes blends sympathethic understanding with sharp criticism in treating the paradoxical nature of the Eisenhower Presidency. Making sense of the Eisenhower administration is a task not unlike nailing jelly to the wall. That Hughes succeeds so admirably is no small measure of achievement.

By comparison with the accounts of Sherman Adams, *Firsthand Report*, and Ezra Taft Benson, *Cross Fire*, the memoir by Hughes is written with artistic flair and punctuated by penetrating analysis. Adams and Benson were part and parcel of the administration for six and eight years respectively (the latter, along with Arthur Summerfield, was the only Cabinet member to go the distance), and they have much to say and a bit to justify. Hughes apologizes, not for the administration's failings, but for his own complicity in the Great Crusade. In 1952 he believed that only the Republican Party was free to take the initiative, to think and act anew in foreign policy. He joined the team to offer guidance and also to fulfill his responsibility to the waning two-party system, by helping the GOP "to learn again, and to suffer, the cleansing anguish of responsibility and decision." His memoir not only records his own frustration and disillusionment but provides the most fascinating delineation of the Eisenhower regime yet to appear.

The Adams, Benson and Hughes memoirs are most engaging when discussing the personages who surrounded the President. They buttress what we already know or suspect. They also provide new insights and correct old misconceptions. Some characterizations are as acutely drawn as the one by Hughes of two Cabinet members: "Men from opposite ends of the nation, McKay from Oregon and Weeks from Massachusetts, they paired off like parentheses—ready to close in upon words or views with any too dangerously 'liberal' ring, first to bracket, then to excise them." Or the delightful description by Adams of Senate Republican Leader William Knowland "wearing his classical toga of lofty defiance." And Benson tagged Defense Secretary Charles E. Wilson as a man who abhorred delving into details, preferring generalities.

Whatever his influence over the President, John Foster Dulles did not

Alan Rosenthal, author of Toward Majority Rule in the United States Senate *(McGraw-Hill) and co-author of* Government of the Atom *(Atherton Press), teaches political science at Hunter College.*

The Sullen Art

Interviews by DAVID OSSMAN with modern American poets: Kenneth Rexroth, Paul Carroll, Paul Blackburn, Jerome Rothenberg, Robert Kelly, Robert Bly, John Logan, Gilbert Sorrentino, Robert Creeley, W. S. Merwin, Denise Levertov, LeRoi Jones, Edward Dorn, Allen Ginsberg.

A revealing guide to contemporary poetics and the modern movement in poetry.

A CORINTH BOOK
Distributed by the Citadel Press
Cloth, $3.50. Paperbound, $1.45

PUBLISHING

If you are planning to publish a book or booklet, send for our free folder describing a low-cost production and distribution service—all copies and rights belong to you, plus 70% royalty on our sales for you.

THE WILLIAM-FREDERICK PRESS
55 East 86th Street New York 28

WRITERS

N. Y. publisher wants books on all subjects, fiction, nonfiction. No fee for professional opinion. FREE: Brochures that show how your book can be published, publicized, sold; tips and article reprints on writing, publishing, contracts. Write Dept. 147-D
EXPOSITION 386 Park Ave. So., N.Y. 16

Buy Your Books through *The Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book (except paperbacks) at the regular retail price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the retail price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to

THE READER'S SERVICE DIVISION
333 Sixth Ave. New York 14, N.Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

wear well with his colleagues. Adams recognized the absolute conviction and moral force of the Secretary of State, but nevertheless believed that Dulles lacked the creative imagination to produce bold, new ideas essential to the success of American foreign policy. Although Dulles never made a major move without Presidential approval, his general outlook clearly conflicted with that of Eisenhower. Constantly seeking some peaceful accommodation with the Russians, the President was always willing to entertain any well-reasoned proposal that might lead to disarmament. For the Secretary of State, disarmament was a will-o'-the-wisp in the nebulous future; consequently the uncompromising line that the United States took toward the Soviet Union "was more a Dulles line than an Eisenhower one."

Extremely suspicious of all those like Stassen and Rockefeller who tried, or seemed to try, to intrude, Dulles saw to it that nobody but himself got close to the President on matters of foreign policy. In fact, Adams recalls, when Eisenhower was hospitalized in Denver after his first heart attack, Dulles insisted that the Assistant to the President stay with the boss to make sure that no one else could make suggestions for changing State Department policy. To Hughes, the essence of Dulles was that the man was a lawyer, who "lived, acted, spoke, reacted, advanced, retreated, threatened, courted, summarized, analyzed, briefed, cross-examined, responded, appealed, objected, thrust, parried" like a lawyer.

Vice President Nixon hardly comes off better. Hughes notes the ambiguous relationship between Nixon and the President, confirming what is by now common knowledge. In August, 1956, Eisenhower confided to his speech writer: "Well, the fact is, of course, I've watched Dick a long time, and he just hasn't grown. So I just haven't honestly been able to believe that he *is* presidential timber." Benson is completely unrestrained in his criticism of the Republican standard-bearer of 1960. For the Secretary of Agriculture, as well as Hughes, the Vice President was a man searching for his own identity, holding to no fixed course except political expediency, and managing to come out of situations such as the steel-strike settlement of 1959 "resembling a cat with political cream over its whiskers." So disenchanted was the ultra-conservative Benson, who questioned Nixon's views on agriculture, labor, aid to education, "among other things," that in lieu of anything better he longed for a Rockefeller-Goldwater ticket in 1960.

The implacably honest and politically intractable Secretary of Agriculture is kindly treated by Adams and Hughes. They explain President Eisenhower's steady defense of the most attacked member of the team in terms of Benson's strong will, dedication to principle, and spiritual force of character. A most valuable contribution by Hughes is his support of Adams in his contention that he never imprisoned the President, or guarded him from the most painful decisions and the major policies. From the beginning, his role was administrative and operational, little affected by the substance of administration policy.

If commitment is the acid test of an administration, the Eisenhower team easily made the grade. Not every member agreed precisely as to what the Great Crusade was all about; yet they all seemed carried away by a mission beyond mere politics. Men like Dulles, Adams and Benson could not imagine anyone questioning their motives or actions. Fiercely convinced of their personal integrity, devoted to abstract principles, and given to simplification, they often appeared immune to what was actually going on around them.

Occasionally, the moralizing fervor of the administration revealed itself in a simple, puritanical way. At the first meeting of the White House staff, for example, Adams cautioned against "eccentric habits" in deportment, smoking in the corridors, or feet on the executive desks. The Secretary of Agriculture, who found tobacco obnoxious, made ash trays as inconspicuous as possible in order to discourage smoking in his office. Alcohol was another problem. "Imagine my dismay," Benson writes, "as an official of the Mormon Church and a total abstainer . . . when I learned that one of the enterprises in the Virgin Islands Corporation was a rum distillery." Being in the liquor business, even remotely, was too much, and the Secretary soon saw to it that the corporation divested itself of the distillery.

But the moralism had a more important impact. It was responsible for the evangelical nature of American foreign policy and, indirectly, for the entire tone of the administration. President Eisenhower was deeply influenced by this atmosphere, which he helped create and heartily endorsed. Ironically, however, he managed to remain aloof from some of the grander moral issues of the decade. Accepting political advice, he deleted from a 1952 Wisconsin speech remarks in support of his friend, General George C. Marshall, whom Senator McCarthy had ruthlessly smeared. And on grounds of personal temperament, Presidential etiquette and separation of powers, he consistently refused to "get into the gutter" by tangling with McCarthy, even when the Senator rode roughshod over the Executive branch. Civil rights, as well as civil liberties, failed to take on moral proportions for the President. He could persist in facile exhortations on spiritual and moral values and at the same time practice an icy neutralism toward the struggle for civil rights.

It is little wonder that so many energies were spent on words, so few on deeds. Public relations was a major concern of the decade. A Dulles aide, Hughes notes, phoned his chief at a Cabinet meeting with the extraordinary suggestion that "this is the time for us to *talk it up*—remind people how our policy has been get-

PLAGIARISM

The copyright laws of the United States (condensed) are free to you upon your request. A "must" for authors and writers, playwrights, publishers, lecturers, songwriters, etc. Published in the interests of an informed America by this agency. No obligation! Write today! Entirely free! **Literary Agent Mead, Dept. N, 915 Broadway, N.Y. 10, N.Y.**

The Best Way To Get THE NATION

THE NATION 4-27-63
333 Sixth Ave., New York 14

☐ One Year, $10
☐ Two Years, $18
☐ 6 Months, $5
☐ Bill Me ☐ Payment Enclosed
(Foreign and Canadian Postage $1 a year extra)

NAME .....
ADDRESS .....
CITY..... ZONE..... STATE.....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Cruise

The ship inside the bottle
rides at anchor in my room.

It waits for a captain
a crew and a destination.

I am the captain
and the crew
but I have no destination,

so we sit at anchor —
the ship, inside the bottle,
me, inside the room,
waiting for orders.

George Kauffman

ting results" because "*anyone* can see, with this business of Beria, that we're accomplishing everything we *said* we could with a *dynamic* policy." Adams records that at a Cabinet post-mortem of the 1954 elections, Nixon pulled out a toy figure of a drummer, placed it on the table, where it began marching and drumming. "We've got to keep beating the drum about our achievements," the Vice President announced. And for Benson, too, the big job was salesmanship, practiced by "fighting salesmen, advocating and defending the American free-enterprise system."

Even professionals like Franklin Roosevelt, Harry Truman, or John Kennedy find that there is no simple one-to-one relationship between eloquent words and effective action. In Eisenhower's case problems were compounded by a misperception of politics and political power. Perhaps a major difficulty was that Eisenhower, as Richard Neustadt put it, genuinely viewed himself as the hero so many others thought him. He stood aloof from the world of divisive politics, sincerely believing that good intentions could substitute for bold initiative and hard bargaining. Self-confident and optimistic, the President acted as if he had a unique facility for reaching people — whether Khrushchev or Knowland — and smoothing over differences. His advisers were skeptical, but Eisenhower was hopeful that Little Rock could be settled simply by meeting with Governor Faubus at Newport. And after Suez he was sure that if he and Prime Minister Eden could just sit down and talk out their troubles, everything would move nicely once more.

In his dealings with Congress, especially Congressional Republicans, the President demonstrated extreme solicitude for the legislature's prerogatives. By conviction a Whig and by nature a conciliator, Eisenhower conceived of his legislative leadership in terms of gentle persuasion, education and patience. His approach toward Republican die-hards seemed reasonable: "I'll try to get them to understand, to *give* . . . not everything, but — a little here, a little there." But it didn't work. Early in his first term, Eisenhower had a chance to name the man to succeed Taft as Senate Republican Leader. His insistence on the separateness of the Executive and Legislative branches allowed one of his opponents, Knowland, to be elected to that influential office.

Sometimes his attempts to mollify dissenting Republicans either encouraged more opposition or merely confused matters. During the struggle over the Bricker amendment, for example, the President made several attempts to talk things over and reach agreement with the Ohio Senator. Bricker, however, left the White House under the impression that Eisenhower was more willing to compromise than he actually was. This only added to the administration's difficulties. As to Presidential leadership, even the loyal Adams could write retrospectively that "a tougher, more relentless line would have brought better results in getting his legislative program through Congress."

It wasn't that President Eisenhower lacked interest or was intimidated by Congressional opponents. There is no mistaking his will. Although he relied chiefly on conciliatory tactics, he believed firmly in the universal or national interest that he defined and articulated. But engaging in politics with a full kit of political tools was not his means to the end. He neither liked nor understood the game he necessarily should have played if he expected to build majority coalitions to support his policies. "My philosophy," he told Benson in 1953, is "doing what's right is the best politics."

A gifted pupil, the Secretary of Agriculture surpassed his mentor in disdain for politics. To Benson the clear-cut economics of the farm problem were unfortunately complicated by disagreeable political considerations. Although extremely talented in playing the political game and quite adept when it came to infighting, Benson found his dealings with Congress and its committees distasteful, frustrating and largely a waste of time. At the beginning of his tenure, he expressed astonishment at "the unique way politics enters into all relation-

Include the

SOVIET UNION

and Eastern Europe in your 1963 travel plans

Group and Individual tours to USSR, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Roumania, and Yugoslavia.

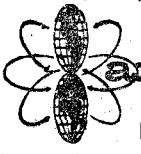
Some of our Economy Tours:

5 Days Moscow .... from **$61.**
6 Days Moscow-Leningrad from **$106.**
14 Days Moscow, Leningrad Kiev, Yalta ..... from **$223.**
16 Days Moscow and Soviet Central Asia ..... from **$277.**

Special 72 Day Student Tour of Balkans and Soviet Union
Details on Request

Regular Departures
We Obtain Visas

For free folder NN63, write:



afton tours
1776 BROADWAY
N.Y. 19, N.Y. PL 7-9595

WANTED: LEADERS

The rapidly growing Ethical Culture Societies in the United States urgently need additional leaders. A Leader Training Institute will be conducted by the American Ethical Union at its New York headquarters from June 14 to June 30, 1963.

Men and women who are interested in this form of liberal ministry will have the opportunity to express themselves creatively by helping to make our fellowships an increasingly vital force in the lives of our members and in the community. Please address your inquiries promptly to Jerome Nathanson, Director, A.E.U. Institute on Leadership, 2 West 64th St., New York 23.

$202,573 to Writers

Your unpublished manuscript may be valuable! Our famous subsidy plan has returned $202,573 to writers in the past 7 years. We will publish, advertise, distribute your book and pay you 40% of retail price.

Send for **FREE BROCHURE N.**
Pageant Press, 101 Fifth Ave., New York 3

Buy Your Books
through *The Nation*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PUBLICATIONS

CHINA BOOKS & PERIODICALS
334 W. Schiller Street Chicago 10, Ill.

•

Importers and distributors of all books in English published by the Foreign Languages Press, Peking, including:

Path of Socialist Literature and Art, Chou Yang
Let 100 Flowers Blossom, Lu Ting-yi — **$1.00**

On Art and Literature, Mao Tse-tung **$1.00**
Songs of the Red Flag, Poems compiled by Kuo Mo-jo and Chou Yang **$2.25**
Songs of New China, Words and Music **$1.50**
Wang Kuei and Li Hsiang-Hsiang, Revolutionary ballad by Li Chi **$1.00**
Changes in Li Village, Novel by Chao Shu-li **$2.00**
The Hurricane, Novel of the peasant revolution by Chou Li-po **$3.50**
Morning in Shanghai, Vol. 1 of trilogy by Chou Ehr-fu **$4.00**

•

Free catalog on request.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW: American Marxist Quarterly. Spring issue just out with articles on Emancipation Proclamation, Future of Negro Struggle, Cuban Revolution, Common Market Crisis, "Arab Socialism." **One year subscription $1.25.** Sample copy sent on request. **116 University Place, New York 3, N.Y.**

L'EXPRESS

the leading liberal paper in France today Send 10c for your copy. **HOWARD PUBLICATIONS, 1475 Broadway, New York 36**

THAT BOOK you want, we find. Free Search. **Argonaut Book Search, P.O. Box 18, Claryville, N.Y.**

WHY BIRTH CONTROL IS NECESSARY

by H. Nakashima

$2.75 plus 25c postage

If you are not satisfied with this book, just return it within ten days and I'll refund your money in full.

SAM McVICKER

411 Brallier Place, Johnstown, Pa.

BOOK COLLECTORS! Discover **The Booklover's Answer,** bi-monthly magazine featuring new books, old books, private presses and little magazines. Introductory one year subscription $2.00. **The Booklover's Answer, Woodstock, New York.**

Advertising Rates

Classified: 74c a line (6 words) 3 line min.
Classified Display: $7.42 per inch (min.)

The NATION
333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N.Y.
CHelsea 2-8400

ships" on Capitol Hill, and near the end, he vowed to buck "the rising trend toward politics first" with every bit of strength and influence he possessed.

Benson's inflexibility was too much for Midwestern GOP Congressmen, who worried (perhaps unnecessarily) about the volatile farm vote, and for national party leaders, who quivered with every drop of farm prices. Adams early made known his displeasure, when he warned an Agriculture aide: "When are you guys going to get off your puritanical white horse and recognize political needs?" Even Eisenhower, while resisting the clamor to rid himself of the alleged albatross, occasionally gave his Secretary of Agriculture a mild political spanking or a lesson in the art of compromising on details to get principles established.

Contrary to widespread opinion, President Eisenhower was neither vacillating nor indecisive. What emerges from the several memoirs is that when Eisenhower had no strong opinion on an issue, he did not take a stand, and when it was not necessary for him to decide, he did not make a decision. In large part, as Hughes points out, Eisenhower's image of indecisiveness stems from the fact that he often resolved not to do something when he believed it wrong or alien to his office. In the case of civil rights, for example, his determination not to act vigorously reflected his "positive *belief*" that trying to change basic attitudes was not the responsibility of the Presidency.

When Eisenhower did act, his lack of political skill too often caused unnecessary and hopeless muddles. Many of the wounds suffered by his administration were self-inflicted. The Dixon-Yates fiasco, tied to the curbing of T.V.A., evidenced Presidential decisiveness, but also the most inadequate evaluation of political risks and the most inept tactics. In 1957 it appeared as if the Executive branch were waging war upon itself. The Secretary of the Treasury led a Presidentially supported assault on the President's own budget for 1958, bringing from Adams the whopping explanation that Eisenhower little suspected when he approved Humphrey's plea for a slash in federal expenditures that Congress would accept the invitation to cut. The purpose of the strategy, Adams tells us, was to keep Congress from increasing expenditures even more. If so, it certainly worked—and then some. But even Adams has to admit that it all sounded as if the President were passing the buck to Congress, and that, in his New England vernacular, "gummed up the sapworks."

President Eisenhower's successor came to the White House with the intention of exercising forceful leadership. In terms of his training and his political skills, John F. Kennedy seems decidedly superior to his predecessor. One has only to compare Eisenhower's inept handling of the renewal of Reciprocal Trade legislation in 1955 to Kennedy's brilliant tactics in managing his Trade Expansion Act of 1962. Yet, after more than two years, President Kennedy's leadership ability has made only a marginal difference in attaining results, and even his major legislative accomplishment, the Trade Act, has been seriously undermined by de Gaulle's exclusion of Britain from the Common Market.

The problems of the Presidency today dwarf the powers of the office. The relentless pace of government affairs, giving rise to a steady round of emergencies and decisions; the size and complexity of major problems, ranging from nuclear weapons to the almost inevitable agricultural surplus; the number of capricious factors, unforeseeable events, and undependable people; the diffusion of responsible power within Congress and the fragmentation of the political parties; and the pluralistic, centrifugal pulls of American society—all challenge the most skillful Presidential leadership, and defy anything less.

EDUCATIONAL

LEARN WHILE ASLEEP, self-hypnosis, prayer-plant experiments! Details, catalog **FREE. Research Association, Box 24-TN, Olympia, Washington**

MERCHANDISE FOR SALE

BUY YOUR 'BEST BUY' AT STANDARD during 1963. Radios, TV's, Hi-Fi's, Appliances, Gifts, etc. at DISCOUNT PRICES.
STANDARD BRAND DIST.
27 Union Sq. W., N.Y.C. CH 2-1880

PERSONALS

INDEPENDENT THINKERS — investigate HUMANISM, the nonsupernatural personal philosophy. Free literature. **American Humanist Association, Dept. N2, Yellow Springs, Ohio.**

I WANT TO CONSIDER BECOMING A PEACE HOSTAGE

. . . to live and work 6 months to two years in a Communist country in exchange for my counterpart, provided close relatives of government officials also exchange. **(Plan entered CONGRESSIONAL RECORD 10/4/62 by Senators Javits and Humphrey.)**

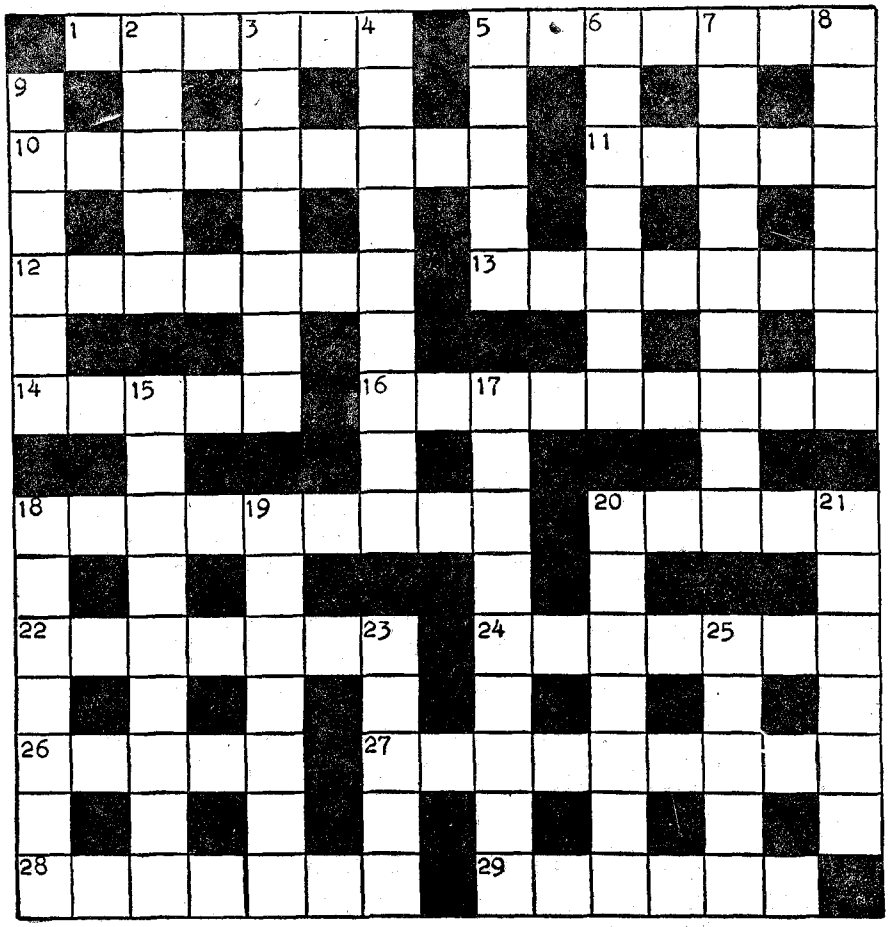
PEACE HOSTAGE EXCHANGE
Box 2737 Grand Central Sta., N.Y. 17, N.Y.
Send information to:

Name .....
Address .....
City ..... Zone ..... State .....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crossword Puzzle No. 1008

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS:

1 It would be beastly to spoil a clever remark this way! (6)
5 One might find it entertaining when the animal is stuffed without dressing. (7)
10 In favor of people who take to drink, and still walk? (9)
11 As an object, I place it around an animal to have it shot. (5)
12 Lines of work might be divided into such categories. (7)
13 Want to start it? Took first place, although heckled. (7)
14 Presumably someone other than a city boy was in trouble. (5)
16 Is the present disorder of Cuba set to make things less clear? (9)
20 and 18 across One way to make her car act in a rather unusual manner! (3, 2, 9)
22 "Life With Father"? It's rather like a diary. (7)
24 Island, according to those who live there. (7)
26 The instruments a sculptor and artist needs to begin with. (5)
27 One was probably in contact with it before coming home. (5, 4)
28 Shortens the duration of homework, by the sound of it. (7)
29 Agrees to make things run more smoothly. (6)

DOWN:

2 One has to have some sense to recognize how an Italian goes to town! (5)
3 Does he have a high calling? (7)
4 A soldier might be moved by it, and still not show great delight. (9)
5 How the confessors come. (5)
6 Did they hold liquor to be something to ward off danger? (7)
7 Following the latest run performance? (9)
8 The way you might put your foot down is related somehow! (7)
9 Resorts to writing, but the results are rather jerky. (6)
15 Flower that grows up with a rather foolish animal to a completion. (9)
17 The purpose of the present, in a way, is letting bygones be bygones.
18 Will modification make it? (7)
19 In a deacon, it expresses just what the doctor ordered, perhaps. (7)
20 Is the bookkeeper given such notice? (7)
21 Do the impatient behave so with the gifted sort? (6)
23 Raises the amount of birds, perhaps. (5)
25 What many a religious composer wrote, as we gather. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1007

ACROSS: 1 Solving; 5 Paletot; 9 Younger; 10 Equerry; 11 and 12 Light ale; 13 Exists; 14 Endowed; 16 Tatters; 18 Impends; 21 Paddock; 24 Stork; 26 and 25 down Produce; 27 Toe-in; 28 Enounce; 29 Utterer; 30 Tressed; 31 Ermined. DOWN: 1 Sky blue; 2 Lounged; 3 Ingot; 4 Garland; 5 Prefect; 6 Louse; 7 Turbine; 8 Thyrsus; 15 and 17 Want-ad; 18 Inspect; 19 Propose; 20 Subtend; 21 Produce; 22 Overrun; 23 Kindred; 27 Totem.

VACATIONS

ONLY 50 MILES FROM N.Y.C

Beautiful 8 mile lake. Golf at a magnificent Country Club. Dancing, Entertainment, Superb Cuisine. Fireproof Bldg. Elevator. Special "single" weekends. Group facilities. In New York City call at local rate.

FAirbanks 5-7227
MAhopac 8-3449

FORESThouse
LAKE MAHOPAC, N. Y.

SUMMER RENTALS

CONN. LAKESIDE CABIN. Tastefully furnished. Fireplace. Picturesque private lake. Swimming, fishing, boating. 200 wooded acres. Ocean beaches, summer theatres, golf course nearby. Long season. Reasonable. **Also** available: island cabin—secluded, rustic, hard to resist. **CH 3-5948 or AL 4-0721.**

LEE-RA COLONY, High Falls, N.Y. (Thruway Exit 18). Modern Bungalows for cultured people. Day Camp. Social Hall; Filtered Pool; Handball; Fishing; Playgrounds; Laundrette. Golf nearby. **KI 6-1856-KI 3-7428**

SERVICES

MOVING? Professional moving at competitive rates. Anytime, anywhere. Licensed, insured, experienced. **THE COVERED WAGON, ALgonquin 5-1788 (N.Y.C.)**

WE MOVE YOU WITHOUT TEARS — Economical, insured moving and storage. Vans, wagons—NYC, resorts, long distance. **The Padded Wagon, Inc., AL 5-8343 (NYC). 569 Hudson Street, New York 14.**

TELEVISION AND AIR-CONDITIONING. (Bronx, Manhattan, Yonkers). **University Television Service, 150 W. Kingsbridge Rd., Bronx 63, N.Y. CY 8-0420.**

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

Complete Personality Analysis from Your Handwriting
Fee $5.00
ALFRED KANFER
62 Leroy St., New York 14, N.Y.
Endorsed by scientific authorities, hospitals, insurance companies, college psych. journals.
Recipient of research grants.

LECTURE

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
Presents
"China — An Eyewitness Account"
A TALK BY
FELIX GREENE
Author of *Awakened China*
a lecture with slides
Thursday, May 9, 8 P.M.
Town Hall, 123 West 43 St., N.Y.
Orchestra $2.50, Balcony $1.50, Loge $5
Tickets available Town Hall Box Office or by calling: EN 2-5727

Printed in the U. S. A. by RCR Publication Printers Corp., N. Y. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Britannica Schools

No one is permanently educated—knowledge obsolescence is a hard fact of 20th century life. The individual who was considered well educated only 5 years ago may be sadly left behind today. In this era of the "knowledge explosion," yesterday's diploma is no guarantee of an education adequate to your needs . . . the needs of your job, in meeting family and social responsibilities, or in answering the challenge of your community.

Britannica Schools, the newest member of the Encyclopaedia Britannica family, was founded as the unique answer to this critical problem . . . a revolutionary solution to the educational needs of modern men and women.

Britannica Schools is **first** to offer easy-to-assimilate, "teaching machine" programmed learning; Britannica Schools is **first** to offer fresh, tailored-for-today course material created specifically for education at home; Britannica Schools is **first** to provide in your home the educational ingredient for which there is no substitute—the priceless and historic tutor-student relationship. And each Britannica course has undergone rigorous classroom and industry testing.

The First New Approach To Learning At Home In 50 Years

"The Listener"
by John Fifles

18 new Britannica courses now available

FOURTEEN PROGRAMMED MATHEMATICS COURSES
(taught by the unique step-by-step "teaching machine" method as used in schools throughout the nation)

The second "language" of modern man is mathematics. Without a basic understanding of its fundamentals, no one can communicate with—far less understand—the shape of today's automated, statistic-filled computer world of industry and science. For the first time outside of a school system, here is a complete series of secondary and a major portion of university mathematics in Britannica's exclusive programmed method:

Basic Mathematics • Whole Numbers and Numerals • Algebra I • Algebra II • Plane Geometry • Solid Geometry • The Language of Algebra • Trigonometry • Analytic Trigonometry • Introductory Calculus I & II • Management Decision Making • Verbal Problems • Introduction To Sets, Inequalities And Functions • Descriptive Statistics.

FOUR "HOW TO COMMUNICATE" COURSES

Writing is for Readers: A language skills course stressing expository writing. A **must** for the college-bound student, a rewarding course for anyone who writes.

Communication in Business and Industry: A course that deals with the No. 1 problem from assembly line orders to the president's *report—how to communicate clearly and concisely.*

Technical Writing: I. Introductory: II. Advanced: The case approach to writing for a multi-billion dollar space-age industry—an industry crying for trained writers. Simplifies a normally difficult subject.

ANNOUNCING
FOR THE SERIOUS WRITER OF FICTION

By Exclusive Arrangement. A Program in Fiction with The World-Famous Iowa Writers' Workshop.

Britannica Schools
A Division of Encyclopaedia Britannica Press, Inc.

14 EAST JACKSON BOULEVARD • CHICAGO 4, ILL.

DEPT. NA. 1
Gentlemen: Please send me additional information on the courses checked. I understand that this obligates me in no way and these courses are sold **only** through the mail.

- ☐ Mathematics
- ☐ Writing Is For Readers
- ☐ Management Decision Making
- ☐ Communication In Business And Industry
- ☐ Descriptive Statistics
- ☐ Technical Writing I and II
- ☐ Iowa Writers' Workshop Fiction Writing Program

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

AGE _____ OCCUPATION _____

The Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED